A

HISTORY

OF THE

MILITARY TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BRITISH NATION

IN

INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

15899
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TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A DISSERTATION

ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS MADE BY MAHOMEDAN

CONQUERORS IN INDOSTAN.

VOLUME II.

SECTION THE FIRST.

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THE
COUNTRIES of INDOSTAN
EAST of DELHI
by Major James Rennell.
late Surveyor General to the East India Company in Bengal.
Engraved from a drawing made and given by him.
For the use of this History.
To whom the Author testifies his acknowledgments.
SIRINAGUR
ALMORA
DELHI
DELHI
AGRAH
OUDE
ELLAHABAD
BAHAR
BENGAL
ASSAM
BOOTAN
NAPAL
MORUNG
TACISSUDON
CACHAR
PART OF AVA
ROSHAAN
ARACAN
BAY OF BENGAL
TERRITORY
TERRITORY
BERAR
JANOJEE
BEMBAJEE
TASIK
ORI
MAHARATTA
HINDOOPUT
MUXADABAD
CALCUTTA
Tropic of Cancer
Scotch Miles

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BOOK VI.

The War of Bengal.

THE ſcope of our narrative now calls us from the coaſt of Coromandel to relate the calamities which at this time befel the Engliſh ſettlements in Bengal; previous to which, it is requiſite to inveſtigate the riſe and progreſs of the Engliſh commerce in the province, and to give ſome portion of the hiſtory of the Mahomedan government. 1756.

Bengal is the eaſternmoſt of the provinces which compoſe the empire of the great Mogul. It lies between the degrees 26. 30. and 21. 30. of north latitude, and extends from the 86th to the 97th degree of longitude, computing from the meridian of London. Its area is nearly 21 ſquare degrees.

The Ganges, from its irruption through the mountains of the frontier, flows for 300 miles to the ſouth-eaſt, when it receives the Jumna at Allahabad. From hence its courſe continues 300 miles almoſt directly eaſt, when having received ſeven large rivers, and more of inferior note, it enters the province of Bengal, according to

1756. the ancient definition, in the latitude of 25. 10, where its current on the right hand waſhes the foot of a mountain called Tacriagully, from whence it ſtrikes to the SE, until it reacheth the ſea. A hundred miles below Tacriagully it ſends off an arm to the ſouth, which is called the river of *Coſſimbuzar*; and 50 miles lower, another, called the *Jelingeer*, which, after flowing about 40 miles to the SW, unites with the other at a town called Nuddeah. The river formed by the junction of theſe two ſtreams is ſometimes called the *little Ganges*, but more commonly the *river Hughley*, which after flowing 120 miles of latitude in a courſe which does not verge more than one point to the weſtward of the ſouth, gains the ſea in the latitude of 21. 30 at the iſland of *Sagor*. The main body of the Ganges, which for diſtinction is called the *great Ganges*, continues from the commencement of the river of Coſſimbuzar, receiving a multitude of ſtreams from the left, until it reacheth the latitude of 22. 45, where its waters are met by thoſe of another river even larger than itſelf, called the *Baramputrah*, which riſes on the eaſtern ſide of the vaſt mountains that ſend forth the Ganges to the weſt. The conflux of theſe two mighty rivers is tumultuous, and has formed ſeveral large iſlands between their junction and the open ſea, which their waters, through ſeveral extenſive channels, reach about 35 miles lower down, in the latitude of 22. 10. *Tacriagully* is the termination of a vaſt range of mountains, which accompanies the courſe of the Ganges from the weſt: and about 50 miles weſt of Tacriagully, where they begin to form the north boundary of Bengal on this ſide the river, another range ſtrikes from them to the ſouth, but in a curve ſwelling to the weſtward, which terminates within ſight of the ſea, at the Nelligree hills, 30 miles inland from the town of Ballaſore, in the latitude of 21. 30. Several diſtricts belonging to Bengal lie interſperſed within theſe mountains, but none beyond them; for to the weſtward they extend ſeveral degrees, and are in ſome parts impaſſable, as far as the province of *Berar* in the Decan; to the north they divide Bengal from the ſouthern diviſion of BEHAR, and to the ſouth, ſeem the natural ſeparation of Bengal from ORIXA, which nevertheleſs ha[s]

acquire[d]

acquired a tract of country within them, extending 20 miles along the ſea-coaſts from Balaſore to the river of Pepley, which diſembogues oppoſite to the Iſland of Sajor. On the eaſtern ſide of the Ganges, the territory of Bengal extends to the north as far as the latitude of 26. 30. where it is bounded by the foot of the firſt range of mountains approaching Thibet. By the acquiſition of a country, called *Purnea*, the territory on this ſide the river extends 20 miles more to the weſt than Tacriagully on the other; and a line nearly north and ſouth, from the northern mountains to the Ganges, marks the boundary between Purnea and the province of Behar. From this line the territory of Bengal extends 180 miles to the eaſtward as far as Rangamatty, a town belonging to the king of Aſſam, ſituated in the latitude of 26. 10. on the river Baramputrah. The courſe of this river from Rangamatty to the ſea ſeems the natural boundary of Bengal to the eaſt; but conſiderable diſtricts have been acquired on the other ſide of it, which will be deſcribed as occaſion requires; and at the upper part of the ſea-coaſt which bounds the bay of Bengal to the eaſt, the province of Chittigan has been wreſted from the kingdom of Aracan. 1756.

The ſea-coaſt between the mouths of the river Hughley and the Great Ganges, extends 180 miles, and the whole tract is a dreary unhoſpitable ſhore, which ſands and whirlpools render inacceſſible from the ſea to ſhips of burden; and for ſeveral miles inward, the land is interſected by numerous channels, which derive from both rivers, and diſembogue by many mouths into the ſea. The iſlands formed by theſe channels are covered with thickets, and occupied by deer and tygers.

The triangle included by the Coſſimbuzar and Hughley rivers to the weſt, by the Great Ganges to the eaſt, and by the ſea-coaſt to the ſouth, as well as a large tract on either hand and to the north of this Delta, is as level as the ſandy deſerts of Africa, or Arabia; and, like ſome of the countries on the banks of the river of Amazons, no where produces a ſingle ſtone. The ſoil is a ſtratum of the richeſt mould lying on a deep ſand, which being interſperſed with ſhells, indicates the land to have been overflowed. Such parts of this im-

1756. menſe plain as are not watered by the Ganges and its branches, are fertilized by many other ſtreams from the mountains, and for the ſpace of three months, from May to Auguſt, when the Sun is moſtly in the zenith, heavy rains fall every day.

Hence the luxuriance of the ſoil ſupplies the ſubſiſtance of the inhabitants with leſs labour than any other country in the world. Rice, which makes the greateſt part of their food, is produced in ſuch plenty in the lower parts of the province, that it is often ſold on the ſpot at the rate of 2 pounds for a farthing: a number of other arable grains, and a ſtill greater variety of fruits and culinary vegetables, as well as the ſpices of their diet, are raiſed, as wanted, with equal eaſe: ſugar, although requiring a more attentive cultivation, thrives every where: although their kine are of a mean race, and give little milk, yet the defect of exuberance is ſupplied by the multitude of the animals: the caſts who eat fiſh, find them ſwarming in all the ſtreams and ponds of the country, and ſalt is produced in abundance in the iſlands near the ſea. Hence in ſpite of deſpotiſm the province is extremely populous: and the vacation from agriculture leaves a much greater number of the inhabitants, than can be ſpared in others, at leiſure to apply themſelves to the loom; ſo that more cotton and ſilk are manufactured in Bengal than in thrice the ſame extent of country throughout the empire, and conſequently at much cheaper rates. The greateſt part of theſe manufactures, and of the raw ſilk, is exported; and Europe receives the largeſt ſhare; the reſt goes by land and ſea to different parts of the empire, and other countries; to which they likewiſe ſend rice, ſugar, beetle-nut, ginger, long-pepper, turmerick, and a variety of other drugs and productions of the ſoil. Their real wants from abroad are only the metals; but ſince Europe has opened a trade to India, they have conſumed large quantities of woollen manufactures, and require arms, and a variety of mechanical implements better than they can make themſelves, ſome from fancy, but the greateſt part for uſe. The abundance of advantages peculiar to this country have induced the eaſtern world to call it the paradiſe of India; and the weſtern, without hyperbole, the rich kingdom of Bengal. But theſe ad-

vantages, through a long courſe of generations, have concurred with the languor peculiar to the unelaſtic atmoſphere of the climate, to debaſe all the eſſential qualities of the human race, and notwithſtanding the general effeminacy of character which is viſible in all the Indians throughout the empire, the natives of Bengal are ſtill of weaker frame and more enervated diſpoſition than thoſe of any other province: bodily ſtrength, courage, and fortitude are unknown: even the labour of the common people is totally void of energy; and they are of a ſtupidity which neither wiſhes nor ſeems to be capable of extending its operations into any variety of mechanical dexterity. All thoſe of the better caſts, who are not fixed to the loom, are bred to the details of traffic and money, in which their patience and perſeverance are as great as their deteſtation of danger, and averſion to bodily fatigue; and it is common to ſee the accounts of a huckſter in his ſtall, who does not exchange the value of two rupees in the day, as voluminous as the books of a conſiderable merchant in Europe. 1756.

The natives of Bengal derive their religion from a code called the Shaſter, which they aſſert to be the genuine ſcripture of Bramah, in preference to the Vidam, of which the followers aſſert the contrary, whilſt neither underſtand the language of the original text, which is called the Shanſcrit: the very diſuſe of this language is of the moſt remote antiquity; it is preſerved only by the Bramins, and underſtood but by very few even of them. The two codes of the Shaſter and Vidam divide almoſt equally the whole body of the Indian religion throughout Indoſtan. The followers of the Shaſter are diſtinguiſhed by the name of GENTOOS.

The language as well as the written character of Bengal are peculiar to the natives, and not uſed in any other province, and both ſeem to be baſe derivations from the Shanſcrit.

It appears from the hiſtory of Feritſha that the ſovereignty of the Mahomedans was eſtabliſhed in Bengal about the year 1200, during the reign of Scheabbedin, the Gauride. At this time the capital was *Lucknouti*, an immenſe city, to which the natives attributed great antiquity: it was ſituated on the right ſide of the Ganges, about 1200.

1756. about 20 miles north of the iſland of Coſſibuzar, and about the ſame diſtance to the ſouth of Maulda. From the reign of Scheab-
1399. bedin to the invaſion of Tamerlane in 1399, the country during two centuries is always ſuppoſed annexed to the empire of Delhi, although its governors ſometimes affected royalty; and the province, during this period, has more than once been conferred on princes of the royal blood, who ſtood neareſt the throne. The confuſions in the empire, which followed the invaſion of Tamerlane, gave the rulers of Bengal better opportunity to aſſert and maintain inde-
1447. pendence. In 1447 they appear aſſuming the ſtile and dignity of
1494. kings, and in 1494, Sultan Alla ul dien, as monarch of Bengal, makes peace on equal terms with Sultan Secunder emperor of Delhi. From this time the continual convulſions of the throne, until it was ſeized by the intrepid hand of Baber, left the Sultans of Bengal without the apprehenſion of controul from the tranſitory ſovereigns who ſtiled themſelves emperors, and even Baber, until his death, in
1530. 1530, had too much to do in confirming his authority in other parts
1534. of Indoſtan to look to Bengal: but in 1534 the reigning Sultan was expelled by the famous adventurer Shere Cawn, who himſelf
1539. in 1539 quitted the province on the approach of the emperor Homaion ſon of Baber. This is the firſt eſtabliſhment made by the houſe of Tamerlane in the province, but it was of ſhort duration; for Shere Cawn defeated Homaion on his return to Agra, immediately after which he recovered the dominion of Bengal, and armed by the means it afforded, drove Homaion out of Indoſtan into Perſia,
1542. 1545. and aſſumed the the throne of Delhi in 1542. He died in 1545;
1552. his ſon and ſucceſſor Selim in 1552; and during their reigns no commotions appear in Bengal; but during the three abrupt ſuc-
1555. ceſſions after Selim, until Homaion recovered Delhi in 1555, Bengal was continually diſputed, and by ſeveral competitions. Homaion
1556. died in 1556, the year after he was reinthroned, and ſtrong rebellions in the intermediate countries kept Bengal independant of
1575. Delhi until the year 1575, when the generals of Acbar reduced the province, and a part of Orixa, after which Bengal remained in ſub-
1624. jection until 1624, when it was wreſted from the empire by Shaw Jehan

Jehan in rebellion againſt his father the emperor Jehanguire; but it was recovered the next year. Shaw Jehan ſucceeded to the throne in 1627, and in 1638 ſent his ſon Sujah to command in Bengal. Sujah continued lord of the province until 1661, when he was driven to take refuge in Arracan by Emir Jumla the vizir of his brother Aurunzebe, who had confined their father Shaw Jehan, and aſcended his throne. From this time until a revolution which has happened in our days, Bengal continued in an uninterrupted ſubmiſſion to the authority of the great Mogul. 1756. 1627. 1638. 1661.

The peculiar patience of the *Gentoos* in Bengal, their affection to buſineſs, and the cheapneſs of all productions either of commerce or neceſſity, had concurred to render the details of the revenue, the moſt minute, voluminous, and complicated ſyſtem of accounts which exiſt in the univerſe, inſomuch that the emperor Jehangire, although the Mahomedans had then been ſovereigns of the country for three centuries, ſays in his note book, that the application of ten years was neceſſary to acquire a competent notion of them. The military pride of the Mahomedans, their indolence and ſenſuality, their ignorance of the language, and the inferiority of their numbers, rendered them inadequate to a taſk they deteſted, and obliged them, however unwilling, to leave the collection of the revenues, as they found it, with the *Gentoos*, and the ſame inſufficiencies reduced them to continue the *Rajahs* or princes, amongſt whom the country was divided, in the ſuperintendance of the municipal regulations of their reſpective diſtricts, ſubject to regulated tributes, and the arbitrary fines and extortions of victorious authority. The greateſt part of Bengal remains at this day under the intermediate juridiction of theſe Rajahs, ſeveral of whom are deſcended from anceſtors, who ruled the ſame diſtricts before the Mahommedan conqueſt.

The Portugueze appear in Bengal before the preſent dynaſty of Moguls; for an armament was ſent by the victory of Goa in 1534 to aſſiſt the reigning ſultan againſt the invader Shere Cawn. This nation, however, never eſtabliſhed regular governments or garriſons in the province, as in moſt other parts of India. But different bands 1534.

1756. at different times took up their reſidence on the ſea coaſts of Balaſore and Arracan, and in ſeveral habitable iſlands, which lye in the mouths of the great and leſſer Ganges, where, living without law, and with much ſuperſtition, ſome hired themſelves as ſoldiers to the governors of the neighbouring diſtricts, whilſt others equipt boats and armed veſſels, and plundered in the rivers all who were not able to reſiſt them. The Dutch ſettled in Bengal about the year
1625. 1625.

The trade of this country was opened to the Engliſh by means of
1636. a ſurgeon named Boughton, who in 1636 was ſent from Surat to Agra to attend a daughter of the emperor Shaw Iehan, whom he cured, and the emperar, beſides other favours, granted him a patent to trade free of cuſtoms throughout his dominions, with which Boughton proceeded to Bengal, intending to purchaſe goods in this province, and to carry them by ſea to Surat. His patent would probably have been little regarded, if the Nabob of the province had not wanted his aſſiſtance to cure one of his favourite women, whom he likewiſe recovered: on which the Nabob prevailed on him to remain in his ſervice, giving him an ample ſtipend, and confirming the privilege of trade which he had obtained at Agra, with a promiſe to extend it to all others of the Engliſh nation who ſhould come to Bengal. Boughton wrote an account of his influence to the Engliſh governor at Surat, by whoſe advice the Company in
1640. 1640 ſent two ſhips from England to Bengal, the agents of which being introduced to the Nabob by Boughton, were received with courteſy, and aſſiſted in their mercantile tranſactions; and the advantages gained by this trial gave encouragement to proſecute the trade.

The profits accruing to Europeans by their trade to Indoſtan, ariſe much more from the commodities which they purchaſe in that country, than from thoſe which they ſend thither, and the moſt valuable part of the cargoes returned to Europe conſiſts of ſilk and cotton manufactures: the weaver of which, is an Indian, living and working with his wife and ſeveral children in a hut, which ſcarcely affords him ſhelter from the ſun and rain: his natural indolence

however

however is ſatisfied in procuring by his daily labour, his daily bread; and the dread of extortion or violence from the officers of the diſtrict to which he belongs, makes it prudence in him to appear, and to be poor; ſo that the chapman who ſets him to work, finds him deſtitute of every thing but his loom, and is therefore obliged to furniſh him with money, generally half the value of the cloth he is to make, in order to purchaſe materials, and to ſubſiſt him until his work is finiſhed; the merchant who employs a great number of weavers, is marked by the higher officers of the government, as a man who can afford to forfeit a part of his wealth, and is therefore obliged to pay for protection, the coſt of which, and more, he lays upon the manufactures he has to ſell, of which, by a combination with other merchants, he always regulates the price, according to the neceſſity of the purchaſer to buy. Now the navigation to India is ſo very expenſive, that nothing can be more detrimental to this trade than long protractions of the voyage; and loſs, inſtead of profit, would enſue, if ſhips were ſent on the expectation of buying cargoes on their arrival; for either they would not find theſe cargoes provided, and muſt wait for them at a great expence; or if ready, would be obliged to purchaſe them too dearly. Hence has ariſen the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing factories in the country, that the agents may have time and opportunity to provide, before the arrival of the ſhips, the cargoes intended to be returned in them. 1756.

The Engliſh company, either in the firſt voyage or ſoon after, built a factory at Hughley, the principal port of the province, lying about one hundred miles from the ſea on the river to which it gives its name, and which is the weſtern arm of the Ganges; but the officers of the government ſuperintended the buildings, and objected to every thing which reſembled or might be converted into a ſtation of defence; the Mogul empire, at that time, diſdaining to allow in any part of its dominions, the appearance of any other ſovereignty than its own: for whatſoever forts the Portugueſe or other Europeans poſſeſſed on the ſea coaſts of Indoſtan, the territory on which they ſtood, and many of the forts themſelves, were either wreſted or purchaſed from princes at that time not conquered by the Mogul, in

1756. whoſe territory no European power had hitherto been ſuffered to erect a ſingle baſtion.

1640 to 1680. Not permitted to have fortifications, the Engliſh were likewiſe prohibited from entertaining a military force ſufficient to give umbrage to the government, but were allowed to maintain an enſign and 30 men to do honour to the principal agents; who thus confined to commercial views, applied themſelves with much induſtry to promote their own, and the company's intereſts in trade. Engliſhmen were ſent from Hughley to thoſe parts of the province in which the moſt valuable commodities were produced: but as the number of factors employed by the company did not ſuffice to ſuperintend in different places, the proviſion of ſuch quantities of goods as were annnually demanded, the greateſt part of the purchaſes was managed at Hughley, where the principal agents contracted with merchants of the country, who, on receiving about one half of the value beforehand, obliged themſelves under pecuniary penalties to deliver at fixed periods the goods for which they had contracted. The company being by theſe diſpoſitions inveſted with a right in all the goods for which they had contracted, even before theſe goods were manufactured, gave the name of Inveſtment to all their purchaſes in India.

Theſe were the only methods of carrying on the trade with reaſonable expectation of profit; but they rendered the Engliſh entirely dependant on the government of Bengal, who, either by ſeizing the goods which were provided, or by prohibiting them from being carried to the principal reſidence, from whence they were to be ſhipped, might at any time ſubject the company's eſtate to great detriment and loſs: and of theſe riſques the company were ſo apprehenſive, that they kept their factories in Bengal dependant on the Preſidency of Madraſs; where they had a fort and garriſon, to which, in caſes of ſudden emergency, the agents in Bengal were to apply for advice and aſſiſtance.

Their trade, however, was carried on for ſome time without interruption, and with much ſucceſs; but in a few years, when they had erected coſtly buildings, had accumulated large quantities

of Engliſh commodities, and had given large credits in the province, 1756.
the government deeming them as it were fettered to the ſhore, 1640 to 1680.
changed its conduct towards them. The patents granted to Boughton, as well as the other ſtipulations which had induced them to ſettle in the province, were either diſavowed, or conſtrued in contradiction to their meaning: the ſame cuſtoms were levied from them, as from other merchants: the Nabob affected to arbitrate between the company and ſuch of the natives, who in order to evade the payment of their debts, thought proper to purchaſe his protection; and even vagabond Engliſhmen offending againſt the company's privileges, were encouraged to take refuge in his court, and to diſavow the authority of their countrymen. In a word, every pretext which might bring the Engliſh affairs under his cognizance was practiſed in order to ſubject them to fines and exactions. If the ſettlements heſitated, or refuſed to comply with the Nabob's demands, their trade, throughout the province, was immediately ſtopped.

For theſe evils there were but two remedies, war, or retreat: both worſe than the miſchief; for although the government annually repeated its exactions, the advantages of the Bengal trade, whilſt new, were ſuch as rendered it more prudent to acquieſce, than by defiance to riſque the whole of the company's ſtock and concerns in the province; and for forty years the Engliſh attempted no military reſiſtance.

At length, finding theſe impoſitions extravagantly increaſed, becauſe they had only been oppoſed by embaſſies and petitions; and having the ſame cauſes of complaint againſt the Mogul's government at Surat; the company in the year 1685, determined to try 1685.
what condeſcenſions the effect of arms might produce; and with the approbation of King James the ſecond, fitted out two fleets; one of which was ordered to cruize at the bar of Surat, on all veſſels belonging to the Mogul's ſubjects: the other was deſigned not only to commit hoſtilities by ſea at the mouths of the Ganges, but carrried likewiſe 600 regular troops in order to attack the Nabob of Bengal by land. The agents at Hughley received previous notice

1756. of theſe intentions, and were inſtructed to call in all their factors
1685. and concerns, that all the Engliſh ſubjects and property might be in readineſs to repair on board the ſhips, as ſoon as they ſhould arrive in the road of Ballaſore, from whence it was intended that they ſhould proceed and ſurpriſe the city of Chittagan, on the oppoſite ſhore, where they were immediately to fortify themſelves.

The conduct of this war was entruſted to Job Chanock, the company's principal agent at Hughley, a man of courage, without military experience, but impatient to take revenge of a government from which he had perſonally received the moſt ignominious treatment, having not long before been impriſoned and ſcourged by the Nabob. One veſſel of the fleet was loſt, the largeſt ſhip, with another, were not able to make their paſſage, and the reſt did not
1686. arrive before the month of October, 1686: by which time, a body of the Nabob's troops, probably from ſome ſuſpicions of the intended hoſtilities, had ſurrounded the factory at Hughley. Chanock, therefore, on the arrival of the ſhips, ordered the troops, about 460 men, to come up the river to his aſſiſtance, gave battle, and drove the enemy out of the town. A truce enſued, during which, all the company's effects were ſhipped; by which time, the governor of Hughley having received conſiderable reinforcements, both ſides were equally willing and ready to renew hoſtilities. The Moors were again diſcomfited: but nevertheleſs, prepared to blockade the factory again; to avoid which, Chanock, on the 15th of December, took the field, and marching down the weſtern bank of the river, burned and deſtroyed all the magazines of ſalt, and granaries of rice, which he found in his way between Hughley and the iſland of Ingelee, which lies at the mouth of the river, near the weſtern ſhore. On this ſpot, perhaps the moſt unhealthy in the province, he pitched his camp, in the month of April, whilſt the ſhips anchored in the main ſtream. The Moors ſuffered them to remain here without moleſtation for three months, during which, ſickneſs ſwept away 300 Europeans, which was two thirds of the whole force.

In the mean time, the fleet ſent to Surat had been much more ſucceſsful, having taken from the Mogul's ſubjects, cargoes, which were valued at a million of ſterling money. Theſe loſſes deterred the merchants at Surat from making preparations for future voyages; the manufacturers and mechanics, left without employment, complained loudly of famine; and the emperor's revenues were conſiderably diminiſhed: upon which Aurengzebe ſent one of his officers from Delhi, with orders to hear the Engliſh complaints, and to mitigate the oppreſſions they had ſuffered. Orders of the ſame purport were likewiſe ſent to the Nabob of Bengal, and arrived very fortunately for the Engliſh troops at Ingelee; when, reduced to only 100 men capable of bearing arms, they were ſurrounded by 10,000 foot, and 3000 horſe. Hoſtilities ceaſed, and by a treaty ſigned the 16th of Auguſt, 1687, it was ſtipulated, that the Engliſh ſhould not only be permitted to return to all their factories in the province, but might likewiſe erect docks and magazines at *Ulabarea*, a village ſituated on the weſtern bank, about 50 miles from the mouth of the river. 1756. 1686. 1687.

However Chanock had not faith enough in the treaty to return to Hughley without the ſhips, and the Moors diſtruſted the Engliſh too much to ſuffer them to appear there with ſuch an advantage. He therefore remained three months at Ulabarea, during which the place was found to be ſo improper for the purpoſes which had induced him to aſk it, that he deſired and obtained leave to remove to Soota-nutty, a town about 40 miles higher up, and on the other ſide of the river, where the factors and ſoldiery lived in huts until they could provide proper habitations. Mean while the war at Surat broke out afreſh, on hearing which the Nabob of Bengal paid no regard to the treaty made at Ingelee; but gave up the Engliſh trade to the rapine of his officers, and at the ſame time demanded a very large ſum as a recompence for the damage which his country had ſuſtained by the late hoſtilities. Chanock being neither in a condition to oppoſe him by arms, nor to appeaſe him with money, ſent two members of the council to Dacca, to try if he might be ſoftened by ſubmiſſions. Soon after their departure

1756. 1688. ture the power of the ſettlement was tranſlated from Mr. Chanock to Heath a commander of one of the company's ſhips, a man of courage, but of a variable diſpoſition, not far removed from crazineſs; who, ſoon after his arrival at Soota-nutty, ordered all the Engliſh to repair on board the ſhips, and proceeded with them to the road of Ballaſore, where the governor of the town offered to treat with him in behalf of the Nabob, and finding that this propoſal was not received with cordiality, detained two of the company's agents reſiding in the factory of Ballaſore, as hoſtages againſt any violence: notwithſtanding which, and that the two Engliſh deputies were ſtill at Dacca, as well as two other factors in other parts of the province, Heath landed with a crew of ſailors and attacked the town, which had no defences. This outrage was committed on the very day that the governor received a copy of the treaty which the Nabob had made with the two deputies at Dacca; by which it was ſtipulated, that the Engliſh ſhips ſhould attack the king of Arracan. Heath pretended to acquieſce to theſe terms, hoping that his profeſſions might facilitate his intentions of ſurprizing Chittigan, where the fleet arrived on the 17th of January,
1689. 1689; but finding the works, as well as the garriſon, much ſtronger than he expected, Heath, as if he had come with no other purpoſe, offered, as he had promiſed, to join the Nabob againſt the king of Arracan; but ſoon after changing his mind again, he ſailed to the river which leads to the capital of that country, where he profered his ſervice to the king againſt the Nabob, inſiſting, however, that their firſt attempt ſhould be againſt Chittagan. But, not being of a temper to bear the delays of an Indian adminiſtration, he as ſuddenly took diſguſt againſt this ally; and on the 13th of February, ſailed away with the fleet and the Company's agents acroſs the bay of Bengal to Madraſs, where they arrived on the 15th of March. Here he apologized for his conduct by ſaying, that nothing but lies had been told on all ſides.

Nevertheleſs, this conduct, crazy and irregular as it was, produced better effects than could have been expected from meaſures dictated by the moſt prudent councils: for the Nabob imagined that

that the contempt and diſreſpect with which Heath had treated him, proceeded from a reſolution which the Engliſh had taken, to abandon the trade of Bengal; and fearing to be called to a ſevere accout by the emperor Aurengzebe, for forcing them to quit the province, he immediately ſent letters to Madraſs requeſting them to return, and promiſing all the immunities, the denial of which had been the cauſe of the late contentions. Such a condeſcenſion was thought a ſufficient warrant of the ſincerity of his intentions. Mr. Chanock, therefore, with his factors and thirty ſoldiers, ſailed from Madraſs, and arrived in the month of July at Soota-nutty; where, in conſequence of the Nabob's orders, the government of Hughley received them with civility. 1756. 1689.

The next year they received a phirmaund or patent from Aurengzebe, allowing them to trade free of cuſtoms, on condition of paying annually the ſum of 3000 rupees. The great advantages intended by this favour, depended however more on the temper of the Nabob, than on the will of the emperor; for the Engliſh had more than once before received ſuch mandates, and found them of little uſe; and the remembrance of former evils continued to raiſe ſolicitude, even when no immediate cauſes of apprehenſion ſubſiſted. 1690.

The right of juriſdiction over the Indian inhabitants, whom the reſidence and commerce of the Engliſh continually attracted to Soota-nutty, became every day more neceſſary to prevent perpetual litigations with thoſe, who although employed by the Engliſh, might at any time defy them in the courts of government, in which the merchants of the ſettlement would be more cautious of ſeeking protection, if the company had power to ſtop their families and attach their effects: but this right of juriſdiction could not be purchaſed, even at Delhi, without the conſent of the Nabob; it was equally neceſſary that the company ſhould have a fort to protect their valuable effects againſt ſudden violence; but even profers of money, repeated for five years ſucceſſively, could not prevail on the Nabob to allow theſe privileges; and they were deſpaired of, when

1756. when ſome unexpected events enabled the company to obtain them.

1650. In 1696, the Rajahs on the weſtern ſide of the river Hughley,

1696. took up arms: they were headed by him of Burdawan, whoſe territory extends along the weſtern ſide of the river, from Nuddeah to the iſland of Ingelee, and who likewiſe poſſeſſed a conſiderable diſtrict on the other ſhore, contiguous to Calcutta; ſo that the Engliſh, French, and Dutch companies, had each their principal ſettlement within his juriſdiction. The greateſt part of the Nabob's army being near the court at Dacca, the rebels made great progreſs before a force ſufficient to oppoſe them could aſſemble: and in the mean time they took Hughley, plundered Muxadavad, in the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, and from thence proceeded to Rajahmahal. On the breaking out of this war, the three European ſettlements augmented their ſoldiery, and declared for the Nabob; of whom they at the ſame time requeſted permiſſion to put their factories in a ſtate of defence againſt an enemy, whoſe reſentment they muſt incur by their attachment to his government. The Nabob ordered them in general terms to defend themſelves; and they taking for granted, what was not poſitively forbidden, with great diligence raiſed walls with baſtions round their factories: the Dutch about a mile to the ſouth of Hughley; the French two miles lower down the river, at Chandernagore; and the Engliſh at Calcutta, a ſmall town contiguous to Soota-nutty, where they had built their principal magazines. Such was the origin of the three European forts in the province of Bengal, and they were the firſt which the Mogul government ſuffered foreigners to build in any part of the empire. An Engliſh ſloop prevented the Rajah from taking the fort of Tannah; and the garriſon of Calcutta, conſiſting of fifty men, beat a body of his troops within ſight of the town. The Dutch aſſiſted the Nabob's troops to retake Hughley. The French did little, but appeared in arms, and fortified themſelves better than either of the other two.

The news of this rebellion alarmed Aurengzebe himſelf ſo much, that he ſent one of his grandſons, Azim-al-Shan, with an army,

to

to ſuperintend the three governments of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa. 1756.
This prince was ſon of Mahomed Mauzm, who reigned after 1696.
his father Aurengzebe, with the title of Behader Shah; and Azim-al-Shan himſelf ſeems likewiſe, even at this diſtant period, to have had an eye to the throne: for he came into Bengal with a reſolution to amaſs money by every means. This avaricious diſpoſition the Engliſh plied with preſents, which in 1698 obtained 1698.
his permiſſion to purchaſe from the Zemindar, or Indian proprietor, the towns of Soota-nutty, Calcutta, and Govindpore, with their diſtricts, extending about three miles along the eaſtern bank of the river Hughley, and about one mile inland: the prince, however, reſerved the annual fine of 1195 rupees, which this ground uſed to pay to the Nabob of the province. But at this time, when the Engliſh ſettlements ſeemed on the point of emerging from continued difficulties to a ſtate of proſperity, the erection of a new Eaſt India Company, in oppoſition to the old, renewed all the former evils. The new company eſtabliſhed their factory at Hughley, and the competition between the reſpective agents was carried on with the ſame animoſity as exaſperated their principals in England, which expoſed the concerns of both to the impoſitions of the Nabob, and of the merchants of Bengal, who took every advantage of this rivality. However, the ſpirit of commerce, which knows no reſentments that are prejudicial to its intereſt, ſoon reconciled the contending parties in England, and produced a coalition, of which the preliminaries were adjuſted in 1698; but the final union did not take place till ſeven years after: this time being neceſſary to blend the different concerns of both companies into one common ſtock.

In the mean time, the ſettlement of Calcutta had attracted ſuch a number of inhabitants, as excited the jealouſy of the governor of Hughley, who, pretending that he ſhould be puniſhed for ſuffering ſo many of the Mogul's ſubjects to withdraw themſelves from his juriſdiction, threatened to ſend a *Cadi*, or Mahomedan judge, and officers of the police, to adminiſter juſtice amongſt the natives living under the Engliſh flag. The meaſure would have

1756. renewed the ſame inconveniences, which had forced the Engliſh to quit Hughley: it was therefore counteracted by a bribe given to Azam-al-Shan, who forbad the governor of Hughley from proceeding in his intentions. By this conſtant attention to money, Azam-al-Shan in three years amaſſed three millions of pounds ſterling, which he carried with him out of the province: but he left behind him his ſon Furrukſhir to get more; who, in 1713, gained the throne, after his father had periſhed in diſputing it with his brothers.

The union of the two companies, by augmenting the ſtock, increaſed the trade, and enlarged the views of the direction: who at the ſame time, warned by the late examination of the company's affairs in parliament, exerted themſelves with zeal and intelligence, in order to confound the clamours of thoſe who exclaimed againſt the inſtitution of an Eaſt India company, as a monopoly detrimental to the mercantile intereſts of the nation. The commerce of Bengal more eſpecially became the object of their attention: the ſubordinate factories of Coſſimbuzar, Dacca, and Ballaſore, which had been abandoned, were now reſettled: the exports and imports were doubled in value and in quantity: and the garriſon of Calcutta was augmented to 300 men: all which the government of Bengal, contrary to its uſual maxims, beheld without repugnance, and even without demanding money as the price of its forbearance and favour. This was the longeſt term of repoſe from vexations, which the Engliſh had experienced ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment in the province; and the encreaſing importance of the colony induced the company in 1707 to withdraw the ſettlements in it, from their former dependence on Madraſs, and to declare Calcutta a preſidency accountable only to the direction in England.

But the nabob Jaffier Khan, who at this time was appointed to rule Bengal, did not ſuffer the Engliſh to remain any longer in this ſtate of eaſe and independence: and the reſpite which they had lately enjoyed ſerved only to convince him, that, as being better able,

able, they ought the more readily to comply with his demands. 1756.
Having removed the ſeat of government from Dacca to Muxadavad, in the center of the province, he was better enabled to take cognizance of their affairs; and to diſcover pretexts and means of diſtreſſing them, without openly violating the privileges which they had obtained from Aurengzebe and Azim-al-Shan. Every year of his adminiſtration was marked by extraordinary and increaſing extortions, not only from the Europeans, but from all ranks of people in the province: at the ſame time he was as much dreaded for his abilities as deteſted for his iniquities: and the preſidency of Calcutta, not ſeeing any better reſource, propoſed in the year 1713, 1713.
to the company in England, that an embaſſy of complaint, ſupported by a valuable preſent, ſhould be ſent to the great Mogul at Delhi. To this meaſure the company readily acquieſced, directing the preſidencies of Bombay and Madraſs to join their grievances in the ſame petition with thoſe of Bengal. The nomination of the embaſſadors was left to Mr. Hedges the governor of Calcutta, who choſe John Surman and Edward Stephenſon, two of the ableſt factors in the ſervice there: joining to them an Armenian, named Serhaud, who had for many years been the principal merchant in the ſettlement.

It does not appear, that the preſidency had any other lights to direct their proceedings and expectations at Delhi, excepting ſuch as they received from this Armenian, who had never been there; but who was very ſolicitous to be admitted into this honourable commiſſion, in hopes of getting a great deal of money by the goods he ſhould carry free of charges in the train of the embaſſy. The preſents deſigned for the Mogul and his officers conſiſted of curious glaſs ware, clockwork, toys, brocades, and the fineſt manufactures of woolen cloths and ſilks, valued altogether at 30,000 pounds; which Serhaud, in his letters to Delhi, magnified to 100,000, and gave ſuch a deſcription of the rarities which were coming, that the mogul Furrukſhir ordered the embaſſy to be eſcorted by the governors of the provinces through whoſe territories it might paſs. The train proceeded on the Ganges from Calcutta to Patna, the

1756. 1715. capital of Behar, and from hence by land to Delhi, where they arrived on the 8th of July 1715, after a march of three months. The famous Hoſſan Ally, who afterwards depoſed four, and created five emperors of Indoſtan, was at this time vizir, dreaded by his ſovereign, and mortally hated by Cawndorah, who was in full poſſeſſion of the emperor's favour. The Engliſh, by their previous correſpondence to Delhi, had choſen Cawndorah for the patron of their petitions, to which the rivality between theſe lords was likely to prove no little detriment; for the one only could perſuade the emperor to grant, what the other alone had the power of carrying into execution. Jaffier, the nabob of Bengal, had from the beginning regarded the embaſſy with deteſtation, as the ſtrongeſt imputation againſt the integrity of his own conduct, and would probably have counteracted it, both by repreſentations and money, if he had not wanted all his influence at Delhi to promote the ſucceſs of greater views; for he had for ſome years been ſolliciting the annexion of the provinces of Behar and Orixa to the government of Bengal, and the ſucceſſion to this vaſt viceroyalty, in his family. Nevertheleſs his emiſſaries privately ſpread their ſpecious objections amongſt his friends: which, with the deſire of Hoſſan Ally to thwart Cawndorah, would probably have ſoon produced the diſmiſſion of the embaſſadors with civil and inſignificant anſwers, if an accident, which on a leſs important occaſion would have been too mean to merit hiſtorical notice, had not placed them at once in a high degree of favour with the emperor himſelf; whom not all the vigilance of a mogul's ſeraglio had been able to preſerve from the contagion of a diſtemper, which its inſtitutions ſeem ſo well calculated to prevent.

The mogul, deſpairing of the ſkill of his own empiricks, was adviſed by Cawndorah to employ the ſurgeon of the Engliſh embaſſy, named Hamilton, by whom he was in a few weeks perfectly cured; and, in gratitude for this ſervice, promiſed to grant the embaſſadors any indulgences, which might be conſiſtent with the dignity of his government. Soon after his recovery ſucceeded the feſtival of his marriage with the daughter of Jaſſeing, the principal

rajah of the Rajpoot nation; which interrupted all other buſineſs, and obliged the embaſſadors to wait ſix months before they could gain permiſſion to preſent their petition. 1756.

It was delivered in the month of January of the next year 1716, and contained a variety of requeſts. "That the cargoes of Engliſh "ſhips which might be wrecked on the Mogul's coaſt ſhould not "in future be plundered: that a ſtipulated ſum, paid annually to "the government of Surat, ſhould exempt the Engliſh trade at "that port from the Mogul's duties, and from the viſitations of his "officers, who had continually extorted more than they were au-"thorized to demand: that the rupees coined in the mints of "Bombay and Madraſs ſhould paſs in the receipt of the Mogul's "revenue: that three villages, contiguous to Madraſs, which had "formerly been granted, and were afterwards taken back by the "government of Arcot, might be reſtored to the company in per-"petuity, ſubject to the payment of the former fine: that the "iſland of Diu near the port of Maſulipatnam might be given to "the company, paying for it an annual rent of 7000 pagodas." In behalf of the preſidency of Calcutta, the petition repreſented all the impoſitions of the Nabob of Bengal, and propoſed, "that they "ſhould be obviated by poſitive orders, that all perſons, whether "Europeans or natives, who might be indebted or accountable to "the company, ſhould be delivered up to the preſidency at Calcutta "on the firſt demand: that the officers of the mint at Muxadavad "ſhould at all times, when required, allow three days in the week "for the coinage of the company's money: and that a paſſport, or "*duſtuck*, ſigned by the preſident of Calcutta, ſhould exempt the "goods it ſpecified from being viſited or ſtopped by the officers of "the Bengal government on any pretence whatſoever:" and in order to maintain theſe excellent privileges, if granted, even in defiance of the Nabob himſelf, it was requeſted, "that the Engliſh "might purchaſe the lordſhip of thirty ſeven towns, with the ſame "immunities as Azim-al-Shan had permitted them to buy Calcutta, "Soota-nutty, and Govindpore." 1716.

Cawndorah,

1756. Cawndorah, although he meant the embaſſay well, adviſed them to act as if they had no other reliance than on the Vizir; and the emperor, with the ſame caution, profeſſed indeed a general approbation of the petition, but directed the ſeveral articles to be diſcuſſed by the different officers of the ſtate, to the cognizance of which they were deemed to belong. This ſubjected the whole petition to the judgment of the Vizir; who, not without candour, diſputed all the material articles, and readily allowed thoſe of leſs conſequence: a ſecond petition was therefore preſented to the emperor, in conſequence of which ſome more points were given up by the Vizir; and then a third; which, being received with the ſame favour as the other two, induced him to give up the reſt of his objections. But, to the great diſappointment of the embaſſadors, the mandates were iſſued, not under the Mogul's, but under the ſeal of the Vizir; which, although carrying great authority in the provinces near the capital, was likely to be little reſpected by the diſtant vice-roys, to whom theſe mandates were addreſſed. To increaſe their difficulties, the Armenian Serhaud, having been checked by his colleagues in ſome irregular proceedings, perplexed all their operations; and, as they thought, betrayed their councils. Nevertheleſs, Meſſrs. Stephenſon and Surman with great ſteadineſs and ſpirit returned the mandates, and determined to wait until they ſhould obtain patents under the ſeal of the Mogul.

Theſe procraſtinations had already led the embaſſy to the month of April of 1716, when the emperor took the field, and marched towards Lahore againſt the Sykes, a nation of Indians lately reared to power, and bearing mortal enmity to the Mahomedans. The embaſſadors followed the camp. The campaign was tedious, though ſucceſsful, and, amongſt other events, produced a quarrel between the troops of the Vizir and Cawndorah, which rendered their diſſention utterly irreconcileable. Their jealouſies, after the return of the army to Delhi, continued to protract the admiſſion of the claim made by the embaſſadors; who, having waſted fourteen months without the leaſt progreſs, began to deſpair of ſucceſs,

when they were adviſed to bribe a favourite eunuch in the ſeraglio, who promiſed on this condition to procure the patents in the form they deſired, and without delay. So much money had already been ſpent, that the embaſſadors thought it would be trivial not to riſk this ſum as the laſt experiment, although they much doubted the effect. But, to their ſurprize, as ſoon as the money was paid, the Vizir and all his dependents appeared as much inclined, as they had hitherto been averſe, to promote their requeſts; and ſoon after thirty-four patents, including the different ſubjects of the petition, were iſſued in the Mogul's name, and ſigned with his ſeal. They were delivered to the embaſſadors before they had diſcovered the real cauſe of their unexpected ſucceſs; which, however, was explained to them before they left Delhi, by one of Cawndorah's officers. In the year 1686, a little while before the fleet ſent from England began to take the ſhips belonging to the Moors, the Engliſh agents at Surat retired to Bombay: they returned after the peace; but a little before the preſent patents were iſſued, the preſidency of Bombay had again withdrawn the factory of Surat, as a reſidence not worth maintaining, unleſs the trade could be freed from the impoſitions to which it had of late years been ſubject. The government of Surat, reaſoning from former experience, took the alarm, and firmly believed that a fleet was on its way from England to commit hoſtilities, as in the year 1687, which would have been attended with the ſame ſucceſs; for many ſhips of value belonging to the Mogul's ſubjects were at ſea. The eunuch, to whom the embaſſadors had given the bribe, was the intimate correſpondent and friend of the Nabob of Guzurat, who had deſired him to repreſent to the Vizir, that it was better to ſatisfy the Engliſh by granting their petitions, than by a refuſal to expoſe the trade of Surat to their repriſals. To this advice the Vizir immediately acquieſced, and from that hour changed his conduct towards the embaſſadors: the eunuch being early in the ſecret, and foreſeeing the change that would ſhortly enſue, determined to reap ſome advantage from his intelligence, and impoſed himſelf on the embaſſadors as the author of the benefits which it was not in his

1756. 1716.

power

1756. 1717. power to prevent. The embaſſadors having thus accompliſhed their commiſſion, took leave of the Emperor in the month of July 1717, two years after their arrival at Delhi. The patents addreſſed to the Soubah of the Decan, and the Nabob of Guzurat, took effect as ſoon as they were publiſhed, becauſe they afforded no political pretext of oppoſition, as adding nothing to the military ſtrength of the company's ſettlements in either of theſe ſubahſhips, although to their commercial advantages. But the thirty-ſeven towns which they were permitted to purchaſe in Bengal would give them a diſtrict extending ten miles ſouth of Calcutta along the banks on each ſide the river Hughley, of which the paſſage in this extent might be eaſily commanded by the erection of batteries or redoubts; at the ſame time that the revenue of the tract would defray the expence: and it was ſuppoſed that a great number of weavers might be eſtabliſhed in it, who would be immediately ſubject to the company's juriſdiction. The ſhrewdneſs of the Nabob Jaffier, exaſperated by his grudge to the embaſſy in general, ſaw the conſequences of this grant with indignation; but, not daring openly to diſpute the Mogul's order, he deterred the holders of the land with ſecret threats of vengeance from parting with their ground on any terms of compenſation which might be proffered to them: and the Engliſh government confiding too much in the ſanction of the Mogul's authority, neglected the more efficacious means of bribing the Nabob to their own views; and thus the moſt important conceſſion which had been obtained by the embaſſy, was entirely fruſtrated. However, Jaffier admitted the privilege of the duſtucks, which, being recognized throughout the province, greatly facilitated the circulation of the company's trade; which now no longer paid cuſtoms, nor was liable to be ſtopped by the officers of the government; and this immunity was ſtill more beneficial, becauſe the other European colonies were not intitled to it: nor indeed, any of the natives excepting two or three principal merchants, who purchaſed it at a high rate of the Nabob.

The

The company, confining themſelves intirely to the trade between India and Europe, had, not unwiſely, relinquiſhed to their agents that which is carried on from one part of India to another: but the impoſitions of the government had hitherto prevented their agents from reaping any conſiderable advantages from this indulgence: and to promote their profits, the company, ſoon after the embaſſy, allowed all thoſe who ſerved them under covenants to make uſe of their duſtucks for ſuch commodities as belonged to themſelves; but forbid, under ſevere penalties, the proſtitution or extenſion of this privilege to any others. A queſtion now aroſe, whether the company's agents were intitled to trade from one part of the province to another in ſuch commodities as were the produce of Bengal. The Mogul's patent implied no reſtrictions. But they could not be ignorant of the intentions of Delhi concerning this privilege; for when the embaſſadors propoſed to Cawndorah that it ſhould extend to all kinds of commodities, he replied with emotion "The Sea!" And the Nabob Jaffier openly treated the pretenſion with the ſame indignation as he had ſecretly felt againſt the ceded lands, declaring that he would not ſuffer the duſtucks to protect any goods, excepting ſuch as were imported, or were purchaſed to be exported, by ſea; alledging, that as the ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, together with ſome other articles of general conſumption, were either farmed out in monopolies, or taxed at exceſſive rates, the detriment to the revenues would be as great as the advantages to the company's agents, if they were permitted to trade in theſe articles, free of the cuſtoms and rents which were paid by the natives who dealt in them. 1756.

Convinced as much by the reaſoning, as deterred by the power, of the Nabob, the agents receded from their pretenſion, and applied themſelves to make the moſt advantage of thoſe privileges which were not conteſted. Succeſs produced new adventures; and the ſuperior ſkill of our countrymen in navigation, induced the merchants of the province, Moors, Armenians and Indians, to freight moſt of the goods which they exported to foreign markets, on the ſhipping belonging to the colony, which, in ten years after

1756. the embaſſy, amounted to 10,000 tons: and many private fortunes were acquired, without injuring the company's trade, or ſubjecting their eſtate to diſputes with the government. The preſidency, nevertheleſs, found it their intereſt from time to time to ſooth the Nabob with preſents, in order to promote the increaſe of the company's inveſtment, and to facilitate the courſe of their buſineſs at the ſubordinate factories: but the people of all denominations reſiding in Calcutta, enjoyed, after the return of the embaſſy, a degree of independance and freedom unknown to all the other inhabitants of Bengal: who, on the contrary, were oppreſſed every year with increaſing vexations by the rapacity of the Nabob.

1718. In 1718, the year after the embaſſy, Jaffier received from Delhi the patents he had long ſolicited, annexing the provinces of BEHAR and ORIXA to his government of Bengal, and the reverſion of the whole to his heir.

The Ganges, in a courſe which tends with little deviation from the weſt to the eaſt point of the compaſs, flows through the whole province of BEHAR, and divides it into two regions. The ſouthern extends about 220 miles, from the river *Caramnaſſa* to *Tacriagully*, and is ſkirted to the South by the chain of mountains which on this ſide accompanies the courſe of the Ganges; and ſeveral diſtricts belonging to the province are included within the mountains themſelves, but none recede more than 60 miles from the river. The river *Dewah*, which is likewiſe called the *Gogra*, joins the Ganges on its northern ſhore 180 miles to the weſt of Tacriagully. That river for a long way before the junction tends from the W. N. W. and 40 miles of the lower part of its channel forms part of the weſtern boundary of the northern diviſion of Behar, which extends to the eaſt 180 miles, to the line we have noted as the limit of Purniah, and recedes from the Ganges and Dewah 90 miles to the north; where foreſts at the foot of the range of mountains, which bound the country of *Napal*, continue with the mountains to the eaſtward far beyond Rangamati, and form the northern boundaries of Behar, Bengal, and Aſſam. The area of Behar comprizeth 9 ſquare degrees. The capital, Patna, ſtands on the ſouthern bank

of the Ganges, 130 miles to the weſt of Tacriagully. There are many manufactures in this province, although nothing near ſo many as in Bengal, to which it is likewiſe much inferior in fertility; but it produces a great quantity of ſaltpetre, and of the beſt opium in India. 1756. 1718.

ORIXA is the moſt northern country on the eaſt ſide of the promontory of Indoſtan. The river Pipley coming from the N. W. diſembogues, as we have ſaid, in the latitude of 21. 25, oppoſite to the iſland of Sagore. The channel of this river for 40 miles from its mouth, and an imaginary line 20 miles farther to the weſt, to the foot of the Nelligreen hills, before they curve to the eaſt behind Balaſore, divide Orixa from Bengal. Southward it extends along the ſea coaſt to the latitude of 20, 10, within 6 miles of Gangam, which terminates the province of CHICACOLE in the Decan. To the weſtward Orixa is ſeparated from the province of BEHAR by a vaſt tract of mountains, hitherto unexplored. The interior of the province is the ſtrongeſt and beſt ſoil in the empire; but from the want of good ſea-ports, there are few manufactures, and very little circulation of gold and ſilver, in the country. Catteck, the capital, is ſituated in the latitude of 21, 23, and 50 miles from the ſea.

Jaffier had no ſons, but before his arrival in Bengal had given his only daughter in marriage to Sujah Khan, a lord of diſtinction, who accompanied him into the province. Of this marriage were born two ſons, both of whom were arrived at man's eſtate, when the commiſſion appointing their father Sujah to ſucceed Jaffier was ſent from Delhi. Sujah, although humane, was indolent and voluptuous, and his father in law, being deſirous to break him to buſineſs, ſent him ſoon after the patents were received, to govern the province of Orixa.

A few months after his arrival at Catteck, two brothers, natives of Tartary, came to his court with ſtrong recommendations from Delhi, in compliance with which Sujah received them into his ſervice: appointing the elder, Hodgee Hamed, to attend his perſon as a domeſtic, and the other, Allaverdy, to command a troop of horſe. They were both employed according to their talents.

1756. For the elder was calm, ſupple, wily, provident, but void of natural courage: the younger, ſtern, active, intrepid, ſagacious, but too high-minded to ſubmit to the compliances neceſſary in an Aſiatic court. Conviction of the aſſiſtance which each might derive from the qualities of the other cemented them, as much as the relation of blood, in the moſt inviolable friendſhip. This powerful and uncommon union ſeemed to command fortune; for in a few years they raiſed themſelves to the higheſt offices in Sujah's court and army; Hodgee Hamed becoming his prime miniſter, and Allaverdy the general of his troops. The Nabob Jaffier foreſaw and dreaded the conſequences of their influence: but the infirmities of old age had rendered him incapable of taking the vigorous reſolutions neceſſary to extricate his ſucceſſor from the toils into which
1725. he had been led; and in 1725 Jaffier died, to the great joy of the province; but of none more than the two brothers, to whoſe ambition his death opened more extenſive proſpects. They accompanied Sujah to Muxadavad, and partook of the increaſe of his power, adminiſtering the ſame employments in the general government of the Subahſhip, as they had held in the province of Orixa.

1729. In 1729 Sujah appointed Allaverdy to govern Behar, in which ſtation he had frequent opportunities of exerting his military talents, as well as his political abilities; being conſtantly in arms againſt the Indian chiefs on both ſides the Ganges, who had never been reduced to a ſettled dependance on the mooriſh government. However, after many fights, intrigues, and aſſaſſinations, all ſubmitted, and afterwards continued in obedience to Allaverdy; who now feeling his ſtrength, gave ſcope to his ambition, which as uſual, obliterated every ſentiment of gratitude to the creator of his fortunes.

In the mean time Hodgee maintained his influence over the Nabob by an obſequiouſneſs which prevented all ſuſpicions, and remitted large ſums to his brother, which were ſent to Delhi, and in
1736. 1736 procured a commiſſion from thence appointing Allaverdy, Nabob of Behar, free from any dependance on the government of Bengal: but as there was no immediate occaſion to proclaim this title, of which he

already enjoyed moſt of the advantages, the brothers agreed that it ſhould be kept ſecret, until there ſhould be a neceſſity of aſſerting it publickly. However, ſuch a tranſaction could not be entirely concealed; and the firſt informations leading to farther inveſtigations, Sujah, although unwillingly, was at length convinced of the treacherous ingratitude of his favourites. 1756.

He was meditating revenge, when the approach of Nadir Shah ſtruck all the provinces of the empire with conſternation, and kept all their rulers in ſuſpenſe how far the ſtorm would reach: and in 1739, before the Perſians left Delhi, Sujah died. 1739.

The ſucceſſion devolved to his only ſurviving ſon Suffraze Khan, a man of mean abilities, and governed only by his vices. He, however, bore the ſtrongeſt reſentment againſt the two brothers; but the fear of Allaverdy reſtrained him from taking away the life of Hodgee, who was in his power: and Allaverdy, trembling for the ſafety of his brother, refrained from committing any hoſtilities, but improved his army.

The profligacy of Suffraze Khan increaſed with the means of indulgence: and his debaucheries went to an exceſs that diſordered his underſtanding. There was, amongſt the officers of the court, an old Gentoo of diſtinction, named Allumchund, whom the late Nabob uſed to conſult with confidence; relying on which, Allumchund ventured, in a private conference, to warn Suffraze Khan of the dangerous conſequences of his intemperance; but Suffraze Khan anſwered him with ignominious abuſe and invectives. No one after this ventured to ſhew any diſapprobation of his inclinations; and, left to himſelf, he ſoon after committed a more extravagant outrage. 1740.

There was a family of Gentoo merchants at Muxadavad, whoſe head, Juggutſeat, had raiſed himſelf from no conſiderable origin to be the wealthieſt banker in the empire, in moſt parts of which he had agents ſupplied with money for remittances; from whom he conſtantly received good intelligence of what was tranſacting in the governments in which they were ſettled; and in Bengal his influence was equal to that of any officer in the adminiſtration; for by

1756. by anſwering to the treaſury, as ſecurity for moſt of the renters
1740. farming the lands of the province, he knew better than any one all the details of the revenues; and the great circulation of wealth, which he commanded, rendered his aſſiſtance neceſſary in every emergency of expence. His eldeſt ſon, ſoon after the diſgrace of Allumchund, married a woman of exquiſite beauty, the report of which alone inflamed the curioſity of the Nabob ſo much, that he inſiſted on ſeeing her, although he knew the diſgrace which would be fixed on the family, by ſhewing a wife, unveiled, to a ſtranger. Neither the remonſtrances of the father, nor his power to revenge the indignity, availed to divert the Nabob from this inſolent and futile reſolution. The young woman was ſent to the palace in the evening; and, after ſtaying there a ſhort ſpace, returned, unviolated indeed, but diſhonoured, to her huſband.

Hodgee, who had been lurking for ſome ſuch occaſions of conſpiracy, now began to move; and made overtures to Juggutſeat and Allumchund, who received them with eagerneſs. Secret meetings were concerted, in which it was agreed, that as ſoon as Hodgee could be placed out of the reach of danger, Allaverdy ſhould invade Bengal, and, if ſucceſsful, take the Nabobſhip. But the firſt difficulty ſeemed inſurmountable, as nothing could be more contrary to the ſecurity of the Nabob than the releaſe of ſuch a pledge as Hodgee, and it was impoſſible that he could be removed out of the province without the Nabob's conſent; which nevertheleſs was at length obtained, by the interceſſion, it is ſaid, of ſome of the principal officers of the Durbar, whom Hodgee had gained over and admitted into the ſecret of his conſpiracy. The Nabob at the audience of taking leave treated Hodgee with ſcoff and mockery. The conveyances for his departure having for ſome time been held in readineſs, he proceeded immediately on his journey to Patna; and as ſoon as he arrived there, Allaverdy, giving out that he was diſhonoured by the ignominious manner in which his brother had been turned out of the province, began his march towards Bengal.

1741. His approach was ſo ſudden, that he gained the paſs of Tacriagully before Suffraze Khan had time to ſecure it by a proper reinforcement.

On hearing which, the Nabob accuſed Juggutſeat of 1756.
o defended himſelf by producing letters from Alla- 1745.
d for the purpoſe, in which he was upbraided for not
s influence to prevent the baniſhment of Hodgee.
an now aſſembled his troops, and ordered them to
the plain of Gheria, which lies on the weſt ſide of
ſſimbuzar, about five miles to the north of Muxa-
e had ſcarcely formed his encampment, which con-
ſiſted of 30,000 men, horſe and foot, when Allaverdy appeared in fight, with an equal number, but of better troops; for amongſt his cavalry were 3,000 Pitans, the braveſt of the Mahomedans in Indoſtan; and his infantry, levied in Behar, were much ſtouter than thoſe in the army of Suffraze Khan, who were moſtly natives of Bengal.

However, the unexpected firmneſs of the Nabob inſpired ſome of his officers with courage; but more were either diſſaffected, or wavering; and all belonging to the artillery had been engaged by Allumchund to diſcharge the cannon without ball, and to deſert it ſoon after the onſet. Troops after troops quitted the field, as ſoon as they ſaw the artillery abandoned. Nevertheleſs Suffraze Khan continued the fight, until he was left with only a few ſquadrons of horſe, whom the enemy were moving to ſurround, when the driver of his elephant, warning him of the danger, offered, at the forfeit of his head, to convey him back ſafely to the capital; to which propoſal the Nabob, with a reſolution worthy of a better life, and of a better fate, replied, that he ſcorned to retreat before rebels and traitors; and ordered the driver to puſh into the thickeſt of the enemy's troops, toward the ſtandard of Allaverdy; where, ſupported by the remains of his cavalry, he renewed the fight more deſperately than ever, until he fell, ſhot through the heart by a muſket ball.

without meeting any farther oppoſition, marched to
where he was immediately proclaimed Nabob of Ben-
nd Orixa; and uſed his victory with more lenity and

1756. moderation than is uſually practiſed by eaſtern conquerors; and even ſpared the two ſons of Suffraze Khan, whom, with their mother and other relations, he ſent to take up their reſidence at Decca, at the extremity of the province, where his officers were inſtructed to treat them with reſpect, whilſt their conduct ſhould give no umbrage. The whole province ſubmitted as peaceably to his government, as if no revolution had happened: but Muſſut Kouli, who governed Orixa under Suffraze Khan, flying from the battle of Gheria, retreated to Catteck, and when ſummoned by Allaverdy, refuſed to acknowledge his ſovereignty, He therefore called his brother Hodgee from Patna to adminiſter the government of Bengal during his abſence, and then marched into Orixa, and in leſs than a month expelled Muſſut Kouli, and reduced the province.

1741.

The exceſs and rapidity of his fortunes, together with the reputation of his military abilities, alarmed the throne; and Nizam-almuluck, the Soubah of the ſouthern provinces, in order to ſtop the farther progreſs of his arms, incited the Morattoes to invade his dominions almoſt as ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of them. In conſequence of which, an army of 80,000 Morattoes arrived within a few days journey of the mountains, which bound Bengal to the weſtward, before Allaverdy had quitted Catteck; who, not having given credit to the reports of their approach, had taken no precautions to prevent their irruption: and had even permitted the greateſt part of the army he led into Bengal, to return to their homes; ſo that his whole force did not exceed 10,000 men, 5000 of whom were cavalry, and amongſt them were the 3000 Pitans: his ſoul, however, nothing diſmayed, reaſſumed its wonted activity, as ſoon as he found the danger to be really formidable; and he advanced by exceſſive marches towards his capital. But the Morattoes had already paſſed the defiles of the mountains, when he arrived near Burdawan 100 miles from Muxadavad; where, finding himſelf ſurrounded, he encamped in a ſtrong ſituation. Baſchir Pondit, the general of the Morattoes, immediately ſent deputies to his camp, who ſhewed the Emperor's mandates, authorizing them to demand

[redacted]out, or a fourth part of the revenues of the three 1756.
[redacted]e three laſt years. They likewiſe demanded that he 1742.
[redacted]mſelf to pay this tribute regularly in future, and
[redacted]s deputed by the Morattoes ſhould be employed in
[redacted]ents of the revenues, in order to aſcertain and ſe-
[redacted]rtion. They moreover required him to deliver up
[redacted]he two laſt Nabobs, Soujah and Suffraze Khan, or to pay the equivalent.

Allaverdy on hearing theſe imperious terms ordered the deputies to quit his camp, with a defiance fraught with contempt to their general. The next day he renewed his march in open day, in full ſight of the enemy, who ſoon broke and diſperſed his infantry, but were not able to make impreſſion on his cavalry. The Pitans were commanded by an officer named Muſtapha Khan, whom they not only revered as their hereditary chief, but loved as the braveſt ſoldier amongſt them: Allaverdy himſelf, his nephew Zaindee Hamed, Meer Jaffier his brother-in-law, and all the other officers of diſtinction, continually preſented themſelves againſt the moſt dangerous onſets; and ſuch examples could not fail to animate their followers. Before night they had advanced fifteen miles in their way, when they halted in a ſtrong ſituation: the next day the march was renewed with the ſame courage and ſucceſs: and on the evening of the third day they arrived at the town of Cutwah, ſituated about thirty miles ſouth of Muxadavad, on the bank of the Coſſimbuzar river, which in this part is fordable during the dry ſeaſon of the year.

About 500 of the cavalry were killed during the retreat, but more horſes periſhed; for only 3000 men mounted arrived at Cutwah, where they remained ſome days in order to recover their fatigue, having ſcarcely ſlept ſince they left their camp at Burdawan. The Morattoes, in the mean time, aſſembled round Cutwah, and [redacted]hemſelves that Allaverdy would wait for reinforcements [redacted]davad, before he attempted to paſs the river. Great, [redacted]was their ſurprize and admiration, when they ſaw him

1756. preparing to ford it with the ſame ſpirit of defiance as he had ſhewn in the reſt of his march.

1742. The ſucceſs of this operation depended on preventing the enemy from following them into the ford through the avenues of the town; and eighty of the braveſt Pitans, excellently mounted and in complete armour, were ſelected for this important ſervice, under the command of their general Muſtapha Khan, whom Zaindee Hamed and Meer Jaffier joined as volunteers. This intrepid troop maintained their poſt until Allaverdy with the main body had croſſed the river: when they likewiſe began to retreat; and cutting their way through the enemy, all but fifteen eſcaped and paſſed the ford.

As ſoon as they arrived, Allaverdy continued his march to Muxadavad, which he reached the next day: his firſt attention, after this gallant retreat, was to reward thoſe who had ſo bravely ſeconded his own perſeverance and courage. Every ſoldier received a gratuity; all the officers promotion: Meer Jaffier, who had ſignalized himſelf at the paſſage of the river, additional penſions; and to Muſtapha Khan he preſented a million of rupees. To Zaindee Hamed he gave the firſt place in his affection, and from this time deſtined him for his ſucceſſor; although he had given his only daughter in marriage to Nowagis Mahomed, the eldeſt of Hodgee's ſons.

The Morattoes, as ſoon as they had gained ſufficient intelligence, croſſed over into the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, and ravaged the open country; but did not venture to attack the capital; and the approach of the rainy ſeaſon, during which the ſwelling of the rivers would have confined them in the iſland, deterred them from continuing on it more than three days. To preſerve their horſes, they encamped on the high lands of Berhohin, in the north-weſt part of the province. Here they were enabled to form proper reſolutions, by the advice of one of the Soubah's officers, named Meer-ahib, who had deſerted to them: he was a man of ſcheme, method, and activity, had been deputy governor of Dacca, and poſſeſſed much general knowledge of the province. Inſtructed by him, they collected

venues of the countries lying to the weſt of the river 1756.
He likewiſe enabled them to form a bridge of boats at 1742.
having procured ſome pieces of artillery, and ſome
erters to man them, he built two floating batteries to
idge, ſtationing one on each ſide. Thus prepared, as
iny ſeaſon was paſſed, they croſſed again into the
hich time Allaverdy had augmented his army by levies
r to 50,000 men, of whom 20,000 were cavalry, and of theſe one half were Pitans. The enemy's detachments, nevertheleſs, truſting to the hardineſs and activity of their horſes, carried their ravages to the furthermoſt parts of the iſland, and eluded the troops ſent by Allaverdy to intercept them, who at length took the better reſolution of marching with his whole force towards their bridge at Cutwah; on which Baſchir Pondit recalled all his parties; and the whole army re-croſſed the river, but in ſuch a hurry that they neglected to break the bridge. Their rear had ſcarcely paſſed before the van of Allaverdy's army arrived, but the fire of the floating batteries obliged them to halt until their artillery came up, which ſoon ſilenced the enemy's; when the Nabob's troops crouding in greater numbers than the bridge could ſupport, ſome of the boats ſunk; and a thouſand men periſhed: it however was ſoon repaired, and the whole army croſſed; but the Morattoes ſtill continued to avoid every encounter. At length Allaverdy, deſpairing of ſtriking a deciſive blow againſt ſuch an enemy, offered to treat; but Baſchir Pondit, elated with this condeſcenſion, repeated the ſame terms as he had propoſed at Burdawan, and added to them that the ſon of Suffraze Khan ſhould be placed in the Nabobſhip. Allaverdy, ſtung by this reproachful propoſal, formed a deſign of circumventing his enemies, in contempt of all reſpects divine or human.

Pretending to be very ſollicitous of peace, he propoſed a perſonal
e with Baſchir Pondit; who, ſuſpecting the good faith of
ions, did not conſent to the interview without taking ſe-
autions againſt the treachery he feared, and even obliged
to ſwear by the Koran, that he would uſe none. It

1756. 1742. was agreed that the conference ſhould be held in a tent pitched in an open plain, at an equal diſtance between the two camps; and that each of the chiefs ſhould be accompanied by fifteen officers on horſeback, and the ſame number of unarmed ſervants on foot, who were to take care of their horſes; but the care of providing the tent was left to Allaverdy, who had ſeduced Baſchir Pondit into this negligence, by offering to ſend his wife, during the conference, to viſit the wife of the Morattoe. At the appointed hour the two chiefs advanced to the tent, each of them having ſelected for his retinue the principal and braveſt officers in his army; and with Allaverdy were his favourites, Muſtapha Khan and Meer Jaffier: at the ſame time was diſcovered moving to the right a long train of covered pallankeens, which were ſuppoſed to be the retinue of his wife going to the Morattoe camp. The two companies met, and entered the tent with much ceremony. What followed is variouſly told; the prevailing report was, that the conference laſted an hour, which ſeems impoſſible; for on a ſignal, 50 armed men ruſhed from behind the ſides of the tent, which had been pitched with a double lining in order to conceal them; and, joining the officers who accompanied Allaverdy, began the work of aſſaſſination. Baſchir Pondit with all his attendants, and three or four of Allaverdy's, were killed; but Allaverdy himſelf did not unſheath his ſword. The annals of Indoſtan ſcarcely afford an example of ſuch treacherous atrocity, and none in which perſons of ſuch diſtinction were the actors. As ſoon as the maſſacre was finiſhed, a ſignal was thrown out, on which the army of Bengal advanced againſt the Morattoe camp, and were joined in the way by Allaverdy, and his officers from the tent, who led them to the attack. The Morattoes fled on every ſide in confuſion; but reaſſembled again to the weſtward, and renewed the war with redoubled devaſtations and barbarities.

Practice and encouragement at length brought the Nabob's cavalry to fight the enemy in their own way, and every day produced a combat or ſkirmiſh in ſome part or other of the country. This irregular war continued three months, when the Morattoes, finding

1756.
1743.

[illegible]ch diminiſhed, repaſſed the weſtern mountains, [illegible] province.

[illegible] Morattoe nation in its two diviſions of Poni and [illegible] avenge the death of Baſchir Pondit, and the [illegible] were ſcarcely retreated before two others were [illegible] Bengal: each conſiſted of 60,000 men; but acted [illegible] The army of Poni was commanded by Ballerow, [illegible] dethroning the Sahah Rajah, or real ſovereign of the Morattoes, had uſurped the whole authority of the ſtate, which he tranſmitted on his death to his ſon Balagerow. The other army was commanded by Ragojee Bonſola, who had ſome years before conquered, and had ever ſince governed, the province of Behar. He is the ſame who, by the inſtigation of Nizamuluck, invaded the Carnatic in 1740, as now Bengal. The army with Ballerow entered the province of Behar, whilſt the other, under Ragojee, marched through the mountains from Behar into Orixa. Allaverdy on the news of their approach broke the bridge at Cutwah, and encamped near his capital. Mean while, the two Morattoe armies, advancing without oppoſition, met at Burdawan; where the two generals agreed, that the war ſhould be carried on in conjunction, and the plunder be equally divided. At the ſame time they were joined by Meer-abib, who, as before, fixed another bridge at Cutwah, over which they paſſed into the iſland of Coſſimbuzar; but Allaverdy relying on the ſucceſs of leſs hazardous meaſures, determined neither to offer or accept battle. Amongſt the priſoners taken from the army of Baſchir Pondit, was an officer of diſtinction, named Shaſerow, whom Allaverdy had attached by ſeveral acts of generoſity; in return for which Shaſerow now employed his mediation with Ballerow in favour of Allaverdy, whoſe emiſſaries were at the ſame time ſowing diſſention between the two Morattoe generals, perſuading each that much plunder had been ſecreted from the common [illegible] other army.

[illegible] nations that enſued on this ſubject produced a coolneſs [illegible], which determined Ballerow to agree to the propoſals [illegible], who offered to pay two millions of rupees, on condition

1756. 1743. dition that both the Morattoe armies ſhould be immediately withdrawn, and three millions more as ſoon as they ſhould be arrived in their own country. Accordingly it was agreed that Ballerow and Allaverdy ſhould meet and confer together on the 30th of March; but ſome motions made that day by the troops of Ragojee cauſing Allaverdy to ſuſpect treachery, he returned to his camp when on the way to the place appointed. However, on the 3d of April they met. The conference laſted two hours, during which the treaty was ratified. Ragojee diſſembled his diſapprobation until all the Morattoes had quitted the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, when he openly refuſed to accept the treaty; and Ballerow, who had received the two millions of rupees, gave himſelf no trouble either to perſuade or compel him, but marched away with his own troops and the money.

Allaverdy, more ſatisfied with having removed one half of his enemies, than diſappointed at the refuſal of Ragojee, immediately marched againſt him. But the Morattoes, as uſual, avoided all encounters of riſque, and ravaged the defenceleſs parts of the country until the month of June, when they retired into Orixa, and in a few days reduced the whole province; of which Ragojee, with the conſent of his officers, gave the government to Meer-abib. As ſoon as the rainy ſeaſon was paſſed, ſome of their detachments again
1744. infeſted Bengal; and in March 1744, new parties, allured by the ſucceſs of their countrymen, traverſed, plundering as they went, all Behar and Bengal, in their way to the main body, which remained in Orixa. The three following months Allaverdy was employed in beating up the parties that remained in Bengal, and as ſoon as the rains ceaſed, he marched with his whole force into Orixa; where by continual ſtratagems he brought on ſeveral encounters, in which the Morattoes ſuffered conſiderably; and purſuing theſe advantages, he in leſs than three months obliged them to quit the province and retire to the weſtward. However, he was ſcarcely returned to
1745. Muxadavad, in February 1745, when they renewed their incurſions; but their detachments were not formidable enough to require the ſame ſtreſs of oppoſition which had hitherto employed his whole

ion. He therefore, in October, detached a large 1756.
Patna, under the command of his nephew Zaindee 1745.
began to have ſome proſpect of tranquillity; which,
fled before him.

of Muſtapha Khan, and his influence amongſt the
me time rendered him obnoxious to the ſuſpicions
concluded, that if he did not already entertain
views, he might aſpire at the ſovereignty after the death
of Allaverdy, to the prejudice of his own ſon Zaindee Hamed: but
mere arguments could not induce Allaverdy, who feared nothing,
to entertain this opinion of a fellow ſoldier, by whom he had always
been ſerved with fidelity, and had on all occaſions generouſly re-
warded. He demanded proofs, which were ſupplied by letters that
ſeemed to be witten by Meer-abib to Muſtapha Khan, implying a
previous correſpondence, exhorting the Pitan to aſſaſſinate Allaverdy,
and promiſing him the aſſiſtance of the Morattoes to ſeize and main-
tain the government. Allaverdy, not ſuſpecting that Hodgee would
dare to uſe ſuch an artifice in an affair of ſo great importance, be-
lieved the impoſition, and determined to put Muſtapha Khan to
death at the next viſit; whoſe friends apprized him of the danger;
on which he inſtantly marched away with the body of 3000 Pitans
under his immediate command, and was the next day followed and
joined by the ſame number, with their officer Sumſheer Khan; all
took their way towards Behar.

Their departure confirming Allaverdy in his belief of Hodgee's 1746.
repreſentations, he ordered Zaindee Hamed to advance from Patna,
in order to ſtop the retreat of the Pitans, whilſt he himſelf fol-
lowed them with his own army, which overtook them half way
between Tacriagully and Patna, before Zaindee Hamed appeared in
fight. Muſtapha Khan therefore gave battle without delay; the con-
flict was ſharp and obſtinate, notwithſtanding the diſparity of num-
ſucceſs remained doubtful, until the two chiefs came
f one another, when a party of men, armed with
ho had been taught to ſhoot at a mark, and were
uard the elephant on which Allaverdy rode, fired a
volley

1756. volley directed againſt the perſon of Muſtapha Khan, and killed
1746. him; on which Sumſheer Khan gave the ſignal of retreat, and, paſſing at a diſtance from Zaindee Hamed's march, retreated out of the province, and proceeded to his own country, to the eaſt of the Jumna.

After the battle, Hodgee, who had accompanied his brother, went to Patna, in order to ſuperintend the civil adminiſtration of Behar; and having brought with him the head of Muſtapha Khan, cauſed it to be carried on a pole round the city, during which proceſſion it was inſulted by the multitude with every indignity. Allaverdy haſtened back to Bengal, which, during his abſence, had been expoſed to the return and depredations of the whole body of Morattoes, which he had driven out of Orixa. Thus ended the year 1746. Continual marches and a few indeciſive ſkirmiſhes employed
1747. him until the end of 1747, when events of more dangerous conſequence called forth the exertion of his utmoſt reſolution.

Meer-abib, who, ſince his defection, had loſt no opportunity of diſtreſſing Allaverdy, had entered into a correſpondence with Sumſheer Khan, immediately after the death of Muſtapha; in conſequence of which the Pitan, with 8000 of his countrymen, appeared in December on the bank of the Ganges, oppoſite to the city of Patna; which intending to ſurprize, he tendered the ſervice of his troops to Zaindee Hamed. Hodgee, it is ſaid, had received ſome intelligence of the connexion exiſting between Sumſheer Khan and Meer-abib; and adviſed his ſon to project an interview, in which all the Pitan officers might be blown up by a mine of gunpowder; but Zaindee Hamed, ſuſpecting his father's intelligence, rejected the propoſal, and waited for the orders of Allaverdy; who inſtructed him to inliſt the Pitans, and afterwards to take the firſt opportunity of deſtroying their chiefs. Accordingly, the terms of agreement were ſettled, and the principal officers, accompanied by 2000 of their ſoldiery, croſſed the river: they were received by Zaindee Hamed in a tent pitched at a little diſtance from the city. Sumſheer Khan approached the firſt, made his obeiſance, and having received from Zaindee a roll of beetel, as a pledge of friendſhip, took his

ng behind him as an officer now rated in his ſervice. 1756.
ficers went through the ſame ceremony; and when 1748.
d was preſenting the beetel to the thirteenth, the
d laſt received it, plunged a dagger over his ſhoulder
In the ſame inſtant the others fell on thoſe of
e who were ſtanding neareſt his perſon, whilſt the
tacked the reſt and his guards. The aſtoniſhment
on one ſide being as great as the impetuoſity on the other, all the attendants of Zaindee Hamed were ſoon diſperſed; and during the conflict a party of Pitans galloped to the gate of the city, of which they kept poſſeſſion, until Sumſheer Khan arrived with the reſt.

Here the conſternation was ſo great, that no one thought of reſiſtance; and the Pitans cutting down all they met without diſtinction, proceeded and got poſſeſſion of the citadel. Their firſt care now was to ſeek for Hodgee, in order to retaliate the death of their leader Muſtapha Khan, and the ignominy with which Hodgee had treated his remains; he was taken, endeavouring to eſcape in a covered pallankeen, and immediately ſcourged in public, like a common criminal; after which he was led through the city on an aſs, with his legs tied under the belly, and his face painted half black, half white; during which proceſſion he was inſulted with every ſcoff and mockery that deteſtation could ſuggeſt. Five millions of rupees were found in his houſe; and the ſcourge was again repeated, in order to extort a confeſſion of the treaſures he was ſuppoſed to have concealed; but whether he really had no more, or believed that no confeſſion would exempt him from future torture, he bore that which was now inflicted on him until his life was in danger; when Sumſheer Khan, deſirous of reſerving him for more lingering and exquiſite ſufferings, ordered him to be taken care of: but the unfortunate and high minded wife of Zaindee found means to convey to him a doſe of poiſon. He took it immediately,
w hours it releaſed him from all his agonies. His fate,
was, excited no commiſeration; for his avarice, perfidy,
, had rendered him execrable to every rank and con-

1756. 1748. The main body of Pitans croſſing the river joined thoſe in poſſeſſion of the city, and during three days rioted in maſſacre and rapine: after the tumult ſubſided, Sumſheer Khan eſtabliſhed officers to govern the city, raiſed contributions from the neighbouring diſtricts, and levied troops.

The news of theſe diſaſters overpowered all the fortitude of Allaverdy, and rendered him for ſome days incapable of attending to the concerns of his government: his grief was moſtly paid to the memory of Zaindee Hamed, who was the only one of his family worthy to ſucceed him. However, the deſire of revenge recalled his wonted firmneſs, and he appeared again with new vigour, augmenting his army, and improving it by new diſcipline: he likewiſe ſolicitouſly attached to his perſon the 4000 Pitans, who had remained with him after the retreat of Muſtapha Khan. Thus animated and prepared, he took the field in the month of March with 25,000 horſe and 15,000 foot, and proceeded into Behar through the paſs of Tacriagully.

In this interval, Sumſheer Khan had likewiſe levied 5000 horſe and 10,000 foot, with which and his 8000 Pitans he took the field, and encamped about 20 miles to the eaſt of Patna, having concerted with the Morattoes that they ſhould fall upon Allaverdy's rear, whilſt the Pitans attacked him in front. In conſequence of this agreement Meer-abib and Ragojee had entered the country of Burdawan, waiting the motions of Allaverdy to direct their own: and as ſoon as he had paſſed Tacriagully, they, by a ſhorter rout, croſſed the mountains, ſeventy miles to the weſt, through the paſſes of Berbohin, and arrived in the middle of Behar almoſt as ſoon as the army of Bengal. Allaverdy ſaw his danger; but nevertheleſs proceeded, and when near the encampment of Sumſheer Khan left his own tents and baggage ſtanding on the plain, with only a ſmall force to guard them, and marched on to give the Pitans battle; who met him without heſitation. The Morattoes in the rear were within a march of the battle, but, as he had foreſeen, ſtopped at the camp, and during the conflict, employed themſelves in plundering the ſpoil, inſtead of aſſiſting their allies; the battle, nevertheleſs, was the

obſtinate that had for many years been fought in 1756.
dy had foreſeen the fury of their onſets, and re- 1748.
in order to rally his own troops. Nevertheleſs,
all probability have been victorious, had he not
alry with matchlock men; who firing with aim
nother, moſt of their principal officers, and at laſt
nſelf, juſt as he had cut his way to the elephant
ſuperintended the battle. His death, as uſual,
decided the victory. The Pitans haſtened back to Patna, where they remained gathering together their own effects, and plundering whatſoever they could find valuable belonging to the inhabitants, until the army of Bengal appeared in ſight, when they quitted the city, and croſſing the Ganges marched away to their own country.

Allaverdy having ſettled the government of Behar, returned before the rainy ſeaſon to Muxadavad. The Morattoes, after the defeat of Sumſheer Khan, divided into ſeveral detachments, of which ſome infeſted Behar, ſome Bengal, and others Orixa; but their operations were not formidable enough to call Allaverdy himſelf again into the field: and he committed the conduct of the war to his general Meer Jaffier, who was continually employed in interrupting or diſlodging their parties.

The war ever ſince the retreat of Ballerow in 1743, had been principally carried on by the Morattoes of Ragogee Bonſola from Behar, joined ſometimes by partizans and adventurers from other countries. In 1749, Ragogee aſſiſted Nazirjing in his expedition 1749.
into the Carnatic with 10,000 horſe, under the command of his ſon Jonagi, which, with other expeditions, diſabled him from recruiting the loſſes ſuſtained by his army in Bengal, which was continually diminiſhing by fight or fatigue. In the beginning of the
next year Meer Jaffier pent up 5000 of their horſe in the mountains 1750.
of Behar, and put more than one half of them to the ſword.

At this time much confuſion reigned at Delhi. The army of the Emperor Hamed Schah, commanded by his vizir Seifdar Jung, had been routed in the preceding year by the Rohillas, a tribe of

1756. 1750. Pitans tributary to the province of Oude, who 20 years before were of little note or eſtimation; and to repair this diſgrace, it was reſolved to hire 40,000 Morattoes of Balagerow, who had ſucceeded his father Ballerow in the government of Poni. Its own diſtreſs therefore deprived the throne of farther means to excite more enemies againſt Allaverdy, in whom on the other hand the infirmities of age ſeemed to have quelled the ambitious ſpirit which had rendered him ſo formidable to the empire. The Court of Delhi, therefore, as the beſt compromiſe, conſented to confirm him Subah of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa, on condition that he ſhould annually remit the uſual tribute of ſix millions of rupees.

The patents were publiſhed at Muxadavad ſoon after the body of 5000 Morattoes were defeated in Behar, and Allaverdy improving both circumſtances opened a negociation with their leaders, conſenting to leave them in poſſeſſion of the ſouthern part of Orixa until a firm peace could be ſettled with the heads of the nation, provided all their parties were immediately withdrawn out of the provinces of Bengal and Behar. The terms were accepted, and he ſoon after
1751. ſent an embaſſador to Poni; but a variety of references and diſcuſſions delayed the ratification of the treaty to the end of the year
1753. 1753, when it was agreeed that Allaverdy ſhould annually pay the ſum of 120,000 rupees, and that all Orixa ſouth of Catteck ſhould be ceded to the Morattoe dominion in perpetuity, and that they ſhould receive half the revenues of the northern part as far as the river of Pipli, with the permiſſion of appointing officers, who, together with the Nabob's, were to ſuperintend the collections.

Thus ended this war. All the countries lying to the eaſt of the great and leſſer Ganges, excepting the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, were defended by theſe rivers from the calamities which afflicted Orixa, the weſtern part of Bengal, and the ſouthern region of Behar, where the puſillanimous inhabitants were continually taking flight, even on imaginary alarms, and wandering from their homes found no reſources of charity in their countrymen; for the fear of contamination prevents all of the Indian religion from giving ſhelter, or adminiſtering to the wants of any, who are not known or recommended

mended to them, and confining all their ſentiments of humanity to perſons of their own caſt, they ſuffer the ſtranger to periſh without compaſſion. Nor could the advantages of a climate, in which fuel and raiment are ſcarcely neceſſary, countervail the deſtructive effects of this general timidity and uncharitableneſs. 1756. 1753.

Examples of theſe diſtreſſes were frequently ſeen by the Engliſh at Calcutta, to which place the inhabitants of the oppoſite ſide of the river often came over in great numbers for refuge, and periſhed through want; communicating their own terrors to thoſe of whom they aſked relief; inſomuch, that in the year 1742 the Indian inhabitants of the colony requeſted and obtained permiſſion to dig a ditch at their own expence, round the company's bounds, from the northern part of Soota-nutty to the ſouthern part of Govindpore. This work would extend ſeven miles, whilſt the force to defend it did not exceed 300 Europeans and 500 peons. In ſix months three miles were finiſhed: when the inhabitants, ſeeing that no Morattoes had ever been on the weſtern ſide of the river within ſixty miles of Calcutta; and that Allaverdy exerted himſelf vigorouſly to prevent their incurſions into the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, diſcontinued the work; which from the occaſion was called the *Morattoe ditch*.

Allaverdy made no objection to this work; and moreover permitted the Engliſh, in the ſame year, to raiſe a rampart with baſtions of brickwork round their factory at Coſſimbuzar. But the reſt of his conduct ſhewed that theſe indulgences did not proceed from any deſire of courting the Europeans in times of difficulty: for, notwithſtanding the ſervices which he might have received from their garriſons, he never aſked their aſſiſtance. He forbid the Engliſh and French from committing any hoſtilities againſt each other in his dominions during the war declared between the two nations in 1741; and in the year 1748 he, on ſome contempt of his authority, attacked and drove the factors of the Oſtend company out of the river of Hughley: and he ſeveral times exacted money of the Engliſh, French, and Dutch ſettlements; alledging, that they ought to contribute to the expence, as they participated of the protection, of his arms. The preſidency of Calcutta not complying

1756. plying with his demands on the firſt ſummons, he more than once
1753. ſtopped their trade: however, all they paid from his acceſſion did not exceed 100,000 pounds ſterling; which on an average was not two in a hundred on the amount of their inveſtments during that interval.

The Morattoes during the war made only one conſiderable depredation on the Engliſh trade. This was in the year 1748, when they ſtopped a fleet of boats coming from Coſſimbuzar to Calcutta, and plundered it of 300 bales of raw ſilk belonging to the company. But the advantages of the European commerce in general were much impaired by the diſtreſſes of the province, which enhanced the prices and debaſed the fabricks of all kinds of manufactures.

The difficulties which Allaverdy had encountered and ſurmounted ſince his acceſſion obliterated in the minds of his ſubjects whatſoever deteſtation they might have conceived againſt his uſurpation of the ſovereignty: his attention to protect them from the violences and iniquities of his officers acting either with civil or military authority, had gained him the public reverence and eſteem: and ſuch was the openneſs and generoſity of his character on all occaſions, in which his ambition was not thwarted, that his ingratitude to his benefactor Sujah Khan, the murder of Baſchir Pondit, and his intentions to cut off Muſtapha Khan, were imputed, although abſurdly, to the influence which his brother Hodgee was ſuppoſed to have over all his reſolutions: he remained, perhaps, the only prince in the eaſt whom none of his ſubjects wiſhed to aſſaſſinate. But he was no ſooner arrived at this degree of reputation and fortune, than increaſing infirmities warned him of his approaching end; and his injudicious choice of a ſucceſſor embittered his latter days with as many anxieties as he had ſuffered in the reſt of his reign.

Having no male iſſue or deſcendants, the ſucceſſion naturally devolved into the family of his brother Hodgee, who had three ſons, Nowagis Mahomed, Zaindee Hamed, and Sid Hamed: Nowagis married the only daughter of Allaverdy, by whom he had no iſſue; Sid Hamed had a ſon; and Zaindee Hamed left two, of whom

whom the elder, named Mirza Mahmud, was adopted by Allaverdy, and the other, named Moorad Dowlah, by Nowagis Mahomed. The ſuperior qualities of Zaindee juſtified Allaverdy in preferring him to his elder brother Nowagis, a man of much leſs reſolution and capacity; but after the death of Zaindee, there remained no reaſon to exclude Nowagis again from the ſucceſſion: for he was of a better character than his brother Sid Hamed; and of the two children left by Zaindee, the younger, Moorad Dowlah, was weak of intellect, and the elder, Mirza Mahmud, a youth of ſeventeen years, had diſcovered the moſt vicious propenſities, at an age when only follies are expected from princes. But the great affection which Allaverdy had borne to the father was transferred to this ſon, whom he had for ſome years bred in his own palace; where, inſtead of correcting the evil diſpoſitions of his nature, he ſuffered them to increaſe by overweening indulgence: born without compaſſion, it was one of the amuſements of Mirza Mahmud's childhood to torture birds and animals; and, taught by his minions to regard himſelf as of a ſuperior order of beings, his natural cruelty, hardened by habit, rendered him as inſenſible to the ſufferings of his own ſpecies as of the brute creation: in conception he was not ſlow, but abſurd; obſtinate, ſullen, and impatient of contradiction; but, notwithſtanding his inſolent contempt of mankind, innate cowardice and the confuſion of his ideas rendered him ſuſpicious of all who approached him, excepting his favourites, who were buffoons and profligate men, raiſed from menial ſervants to be his companions: with theſe he lived in every kind of intemperance and debauchery, and more eſpecially in drinking ſpirituous liquors to an exceſs, which inflamed his paſſions and impaired the little underſtanding with which he was born. He had, however, cunning enough to carry himſelf with much demureneſs in the preſence of Allaverdy, whom no one ventured to inform of his real character; for in deſpotic ſtates the ſovereign is always the laſt to hear what it concerns him moſt to know.

1756. 1753.

This youth in the year 1753 Allaverdy declared his ſucceſſor, and from this time ſuffered him to act in the government of the

1756. provinces with great authority; whilſt his ſubjects beheld with equal
1754. ſurpriſe and conſternation an inſtance of ſuch dotage in a prince, whoſe judgment had never failed him until this, the moſt important option of his life. The doom was, however, irrevocable, and Mirza Mahmud on his appointment received the name of Chirageeal-Dowla, ſignifying the lamp of riches, by which he was afterwards called; but by the Europeans, Surajah Dowlah. His uncles, Nowagis and Sid Hamed, did not indeed break out into open rebellion, but ſhewed ſo much diſcontent, that Allaverdy was convinced they would diſpute the ſucceſſion after his death; and knowing that Nowagis Mahomed was governed by a man of abilities, named Hoſſein Cooley Khan, he determined to remove this miniſter. But Nowagis having for ſome years held the government of Dacca with its appurtenances, had acquired great wealth, which enabled him to maintain a large retinue of armed men in conſtant pay; and the city of Dacca was at this time governed by a nephew of Hoſſein Cooley Khan: Allaverdy therefore was apprehenſive that Nowagis might retire to Dacca, and throw off his allegiance, if he ſhould take the alarm, whilſt that city remained under his autho-
1755. rity; but Surajah Dowlah undertook to remove the nephew of Hoſſein Cooley Khan, and ſent a party of aſſaſſins, who entering Dacca in diſguiſe ſtabbed him in the dead of night. As ſoon as his death was known at Muxadavad, Nowagis took up arms, but more from apprehenſions of his own danger than with intention to revenge the injury: Allaverdy therefore eaſily quelled this inſurrection, by aſſuring him that the murder had been committed without the participation either of himſelf, or Surajah Dowlah. Some days after the tumult was quieted, Surajah Dowlah cauſed Hoſſein Cooley Khan himſelf to be aſſaſſinated in open day, as he was paſſing through the ſtreets of Muxadavad.

1756. Theſe murders increaſed the gloomy conjectures which the appointment of Surajah Dowlah to the ſucceſſion had already raiſed in the minds of the people. His uncles Nowagis and Sid Hamed had hitherto acted independently of each other, but now united; and although their reverence to Allaverdy reſtrained them from revolt during

during his life, they augmented their forces and the number of their dependants. In this ſtate of mutual ſuſpicion the two parties remained, until the beginning of the year 1756, when both Nowagis, and Sid Hamed died of fevers, without poiſon. 1756.

Their deaths diſſolved indeed the union of their houſes; but, nevertheleſs, did not leave Surajah Dowlah without powerful competitors: Nowagis left great treaſures; and his widow, the daughter of Allaverdy, as the only means of preſerving them, determined to diſpute the ſucceſſion. Her ſex indeed excluded her from the government, to which otherwiſe ſhe was the natural heir, as the only child of Allaverdy. And the younger brother of Surajah Dowlah, who had been adopted by her huſband, was dead; but although a ſtripling had left a ſon who was about two years old, and this infant ſhe determined to hold out to the province, as the competitor of Surajah Dowlah. At the ſame time, the ſon of Sid Hamed, who governed the country of Purneah, relying on the univerſal deteſtation which was entertained againſt Surajah Dowlah, levied forces, and determined to oppoſe his acceſſion.

A Gentoo, named Rajah-bullub, had ſucceeded Hoſſein Cooley Khan in the poſt of Duan or prime-miniſter to Nowagis; after whoſe death his influence continued with the widow, with whom he was ſuppoſed to be more intimate than became either her rank, or his religion; but, doubtful of the event of the impending conteſt, he determined to place his family and treaſures out of the reach of danger; and not deeming them in ſafety at Dacca, where they had remained for ſome time, he ordered his ſon Kiſſendaſs to remove them from that city, under pretence of going a pilgrimage to the pagoda of Jagernaut, on the coaſt of Orixa. Accordingly, Kiſſendaſs left Dacca with ſeveral loaded boats: but, inſtead of going through the channels at the bottom of the Delta, proceeded along the great Ganges to the Jelingeer river, through which he entered the river of Hughley; when his father at Muxadavad requeſted Mr. Watts, the Engliſh chief at Coſſimbuzar, to obtain permiſſion of the preſidency of Calcutta, that Kiſſendaſs with his family might, if they found it neceſſary, reſt for ſome days in the

1756. town, by which the boats muſt paſs, in their way to Orixa. At the ſame time there remained no hopes of Allaverdy's recovery; upon which the widow of Nowagis had quitted Muxadavad, and encamped with 10,000 men at Moota Gill, a garden two miles ſouth of the city, and many now began to think and to ſay that ſhe would prevail in her oppoſition againſt Surajah Dowlah. Mr. Watts therefore was eaſily induced to oblige her miniſter, and adviſed the preſidency to comply with his requeſt. His letter to the preſidency on this ſubject was ſcarcely arrived in Calcutta, before the boats of Kiſſendaſs appeared in ſight: the preſident Mr. Drake was at this time at Ballaſore for the recovery of his health; but the reſt of the council, relying on the opinion of Mr. Watts, conſented to admit Kiſſendaſs into the town.

Amongſt the Gentoo merchants eſtabliſhed at Calcutta was one named Omicund, a man of great ſagacity and underſtanding, which he had employed for forty years with unceaſing diligence to increaſe his fortune. The preſidency had long permitted him to provide much more of the company's inveſtment than the ſhare allowed to any other contractor; by which, and other indulgences, he was become the moſt opulent inhabitant in the colony. The extent of his habitation, divided into various departments; the number of his ſervants continually employed in various occupations, and a retinue of armed men in conſtant pay reſembled more the ſtate of a prince than the condition of a merchant. His commerce extended to all parts of Bengal and Behar, and by preſents and ſervices he had acquired ſo much influence with the principal officers of the government at Muxadavad, that the preſidency in times of difficulty uſed to employ his mediation with the Nabob. This pre-eminence, however, did not fail to render him the object of much envy: the manufactures provided for the company having every year ſince the firſt irruption of the Morattoes decreaſed in quality and increaſed in price, much of this detriment was imputed to the avarice and iniquity of Omichund; and the company determining, if poſſible, to reſtore their inveſtment to the former condition of price and quality, relinquiſhed in the year 1753, their

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uſual method of contracting with merchants, and ſent *Gomaſtahs*, or Gentoo factors in their own pay, to provide the inveſtment at the different *Aurungs*, or cloth markets in the province. From this time Omichund was excluded from any participation in the company's affairs, which, diminiſhing his commercial advantages, vexed his avarice, although poſſeſſed of four millions of rupees. However, he ſtill continued the trade, which he uſed to carry on independant of the inveſtment, and redoubled his attention to maintain his importance at Muxadavad; in conſequence of which Rajah-bullub at this time requeſted his good offices to his ſon Kiſſendaſs, whom Omichund received on his arrival with much hoſpitality, and lodged the family in a convenient habitation. 1756.

The admiſſion of Kiſſendaſs into Calcutta was ſoon known at Muxadavad. It wounded the pride of Surajah Dowlah, and exaſperated his mind with ſuch ſuſpicions, that he immediately went to Allaverdy, and told him that he was well informed the Engliſh intended to ſupport the widow of Nowagis Mahomed. Mr. Forth, the ſurgeon of the Engliſh factory at Coſſimbuzar, who attended Allaverdy in his laſt illneſs, was preſent, and Allaverdy, inſtead of anſwering Surajah Dowlah, queſtioned Mr. Forth concerning the report, who replied, that it was raiſed by the enemies of the Engliſh, in order to hurt them in his favour, and that on examination it would appear groundleſs; adding, that the Engliſh had no other ambition than to be merchants in his country. Allaverdy then aſked how many ſoldiers were in the factory at Coſſimbuzar? Whether the French or the Dutch preſidencies had lately ſent up any to their factories in that town? Where the Engliſh ſhips of war were? Whether they would come to Bengal? Whether ſome had not been in the river of Hughley three months before? Why the ſquadron came into India? Whether there was war between England and France? To which queſtions Mr. Forth replied, without deviating from the truth: and Allaverdy, ſeeming to be convinced that the expectation of a war with France had brought the ſquadron to India, and that the Engliſh at Calcutta were in no condition to riſk the diſpleaſure of the government, told Surajah Dowlah,

1756. that he gave no credit to his information; who replied, that he could prove it. A few days after this converſation, news arrived in Bengal that the Engliſh had taken Gheria. The piracies which Angria had for ſo many years committed on the ſubjects of the Mogul had rendered his name famous throughout the empire; and there was ſcarce a province of which he had not taken ſome of the natives, who concurred in deſcribing his fortreſs as impregnable: and various rumours now prevailed at Muxadavad. Some ſaid that the Engliſh intended to ſend ſixteen ſhips to make war in Bengal; others, that Surajah Dowlah was determined to ſack Calcutta, and drive the Engliſh out of his dominions: and Mr. Watts received poſitive information that there were many ſpies employed by the government in Calcutta; and that the weakneſs of the garriſon and fortifications, and the facility with which the place might be taken, were the public diſcourſe of the city and the court. The preſidency on this information ordered ſtrict ſearch to be made, and ſeveral who were ſuſpected of being ſpies, were turned out of the company's bounds.

At length the long-expected event of Allaverdy's death happened on the 9th of April: his public character is ſufficiently delineated by his actions: his private life was very different from the uſual manners of a Mahomedan prince in Indoſtan; for he was extremely temperate, had no pleaſures, kept no ſeraglio, and always lived the huſband of one wife. Warned by the experience of his own ambition, the defection of Meer-abib, and the rebellion of Muſtapha Cawn, he declined as much as poſſible to entruſt any Mahomedan, excepting of his own lineage, with any power out of his ſight, which might either tempt or enable him to revolt: but kept his army, which conſiſted chiefly of Mahomedans, continually under his own eye, or never ſuffered a large body of the ſame troops to remain long enough at a diſtance to be ſeduced from their obedience. At the ſame time he paid them well and regularly, and rewarded the officers of merit and diſtinction, either with ready money or with jaghires, which were always rents ariſing from lands over which they were not ſuffered to have any extenſive juriſdiction.

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But he preferred the ſervice of *Gentoos* in every office and dignity of the ſtate, excepting in the ranks of the army, for which they neither wiſhed nor were fit, and ſeemed to regard the increaſe of their wealth as his own. Roydulub was his duan, or treaſurer, and his confidential miniſter; Ramramſing the Rajah of Midnapore, the maſter of the ſpies and meſſengers. The governments which he gave to his nephews, the ſons and grandſons of Hodgee, as well as the interior eſtabliſhment of their families, were regulated by *Gentoos*. He encouraged the immenſe opulence of the Seats, and admitted them to his moſt ſecret councils; he gave the government of Hughley and its diſtrict, in which all the European ſettlements on the river are ſituated, to Monikchund; and after the aſſaſſination of Zaindee Hamed, he would not truſt the government of Behar, notwithſtanding its importance as a province and a frontier, to Meer Jaffier, although his brother-in-law, and the firſt officer in his army; but gave it to the Gentoo Ramnairan. The Rajahs, both of Bengal and Behar, ſought their protection and exemptions, from their fellow Gentoos, who were eſtabliſhed in his confidence, and contributed not a little to increaſe their fortunes. Thus was the Gentoo connection become the moſt opulent influence in the government, of which it pervaded every department with ſuch efficacy, that nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge; nor did they ever deceive their benefactor, but co-operated to ſtrengthen his adminiſtration and relieve his wants; and it is ſaid that the Seats alone gave him in one preſent the enormous ſum of three millions of rupees, as a contribution to ſupport the expences of the Morattoe war. Warranted by ſuch experience, Allaverdy recommended the policy of his own preference to his ſucceſſor, and inſtructed his wife to inculcate the ſame maxims after his deceaſe; but he did not foreſee that the great inferiority of abilities in Surajah Dowlah might turn to dangers the very means from which his own had derived ſecurity. 1756.

Surajah Dowlah immediately after the death of Allaverdy was proclaimed, and prepared to attack the widow of Nowagis Mahomed. Not more than one or two days after his acceſſion he wrote a letter to the preſident of Calcutta, ordering him to deliver

1756. up Kiſſendaſs, with his treaſures. The bearer of the letter was brother of Ramramſing, the head of the ſpies: he came in a ſmall boat, and landed in the diſguiſe of a common pedlar on the 14th of April, and immediately proceeded to Omichund's, who, as the governor was abſent at his country houſe, introduced him to Mr. Holwell, a member of the council, who ſuperintended the police of the town. The next day it was deliberated what reſolution ſhould be taken concerning this meſſenger.

The governor returning the next day ſummoned a council, of which the majority being prepoſſeſſed againſt Omichund, concluded that the meſſenger was an engine prepared by himſelf to alarm them, and reſtore his own importance; and as the laſt advices received from Coſſimbuzar deſcribed the event between Surajah Dowlah and the widow of Nowagis to be dubious, the council reſolved that both the meſſenger and his letter were too ſuſpicious to be received; and the ſervants, who were ordered to bid him depart, turned him out of the factory and off the ſhore with inſolence and deriſion: but letters were diſpatched to Mr. Watts, inſtructing him to guard againſt any evil conſequence from this proceeding.

It is probable that the report of the ſpy, ſupported by the repreſentations of his brother, renewed the ſame ideas which had induced Surajah Dowlah to accuſe the Engliſh ſome days before to Allaverdy. He, however, concealed his reſentment; for when the vaqueel, or Gentoo agent employed by Mr. Watts repreſented at the Durbar the ſuſpicions which had induced the Engliſh government to treat the meſſenger as an impoſtor, Surajah Dowlah ſcarcely ſhewed any emotion or diſpleaſure; and neither Mr. Watts nor the preſident received any farther injunctions from him concerning Kiſſendaſs.

In the beginning of April letters had been received from England, informing the preſidency that war with France was inevitable, and ordering them to put the ſettlement in a ſtate of defence; but to do this was impoſſible without building the fort anew. However, a great number of labourers were ſent to repair a line of guns,

which extended on the brink of the river in front of the weſtern ſide of the fort. 1756.

In the mean time the widow of Allaverdy interpoſed between her daughter and Surajah Dowlah, and at length prevailed on her to acknowledge him; which ſhe had no ſooner done than Surajah Dowlah put her into cloſe confinement, and ſeized her palaces and treaſures with the infant ſon of his own brother. As ſoon as he had quelled this enemy he proceeded with his whole army, conſiſting of 50,000 men, againſt the ſon of Sid Hamet in Purnea.

Notwithſtanding the diligence which had been employed to expel the ſpies employed by the Nabob in Calcutta, ſeveral found means to remain undiſcovered; and, inſtigated moſt probably by the head ſpy, repreſented in their letters to the Durbar, that the Engliſh were very buſy in raiſing ſtrong fortifications. The Nabob, whoſe cowardice eaſily led him to believe any thing that alarmed his fears, gave ſuch entire credit to the report, that on the day in which he began his march towards Purneah, he diſpatched a letter to Mr. Drake, ſignifying that he had been informed the Engliſh were building a wall, and digging a large ditch round the town of Calcutta; and ordering him immediately to deſiſt, and to deſtroy all the works which had lately been added to the fortifications.

It was unfortunate, Mr. Watts had neglected to inform the preſidency of the complaint which Surajah Dowlah had made to Allaverdy a little before his death, in the preſence of Mr. Forth; and of the converſation which enſued on that occaſion: for whatſoever informations were now communicated were conſidered as the artifices of the court to frighten the preſidency out of a ſum of money; whereas the converſation implied that Surajah Dowlah bore rancour againſt the Engliſh; and that both he and Allaverdy had been attentive to their military proceedings. But, wanting this information, Mr. Drake thought that the truth would be his beſt defence, and ſimply wrote a letter, importing, "That the Nabob "had been miſinformed by thoſe who had repreſented to him that "the Engliſh were building a wall round the town; that they had

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1756. "dug no ditch ſince the invaſion of the Morattoes, at which time "ſuch a work was executed at the requeſt of the Indian inhabi- "tants, and with the knowledge and approbation of Allaverdy; that "in the late war between England and France the French had at- "tacked and taken the town of Madraſs, contrary to the neu- "trality which it was expected would have been preſerved in "the Mogul's dominions; and that there being at preſent great "appearance of another war between the two nations, the Eng- "liſh were under apprehenſions that the French would act in the "ſame manner in Bengal: to prevent which, they were repairing "their line of guns on the bank of the river." Few in Mr. Drake's ſituation would have apologized in any other manner: nevertheleſs, conſidering the character of Surajah Dowlah, and the diſpoſition of his mind towards the Engliſh at this juncture, the anſwer was improper; becauſe it tended to make him believe that the impending war between the two nations would probably be brought into Bengal; and becauſe it implied that he either wanted power or will to protect the Engliſh. Accordingly, when he received the letter on the 17th of May at Rajamahal, the peruſal of it irritated him to a degree of rage which aſtoniſhed all his officers, excepting one or two of his intimate favourites. He inſtantly changed his reſolution of proceeding further, ordered his army to march back without delay to Muxadavad, and ſent forward a detachment of 3000 men, to inveſt the fort of Coſſimbuzar. On the 22d of May theſe troops arrived and ſurrounded it, but committed no hoſtilities; and on the 1ſt of June the Nabob himſelf came up with the main body of his army.

The fort was juſt ſtrong enough to oblige an enemy to attack it with cannon: the baſtions were ſmall: the curtains were only three feet thick, and ſerved as the outward wall of a range of chambers, which with their terraſſes imitated ramparts, and were on all ſides overlooked from without by buildings within 100 yards, and there was neither ditch, nor even a palliſade, to interrupt the approach to the very foot of the walls: perhaps the jealouſy of the government would not ſuffer more; none of the cannon were above

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nine pounders, moſt were honey-combed, many of their carriages decayed, and the ammunition did not exceed 600 charges. The garriſon conſiſted of 22 Europeans, moſtly Dutchmen, and 20 Topaſſes. 1756.

The Nabob, immediately on his arrival, ſent a meſſenger, ordering Mr. Watts to come to him, who at the ſame time received a letter from the duan, Roydulub, aſſuring him of ſafety: he nevertheleſs delayed until Mr. Forth the ſurgeon went out and returned, accompanied by an officer, with the ſame aſſurances from Roydulub in perſon: on which he proceeded to the tent of Roydulub, and was introduced by him to the Nabob, who received him with inſolence and invectives: immediately after which he was conducted into another tent, where ſeveral ſecretaries and officers prepared a writing, importing, that the preſidency of Calcutta ſhould within fifteen days level whatſoever new works they had raiſed; that they ſhould deliver up all tenants of the government who had taken protection in the ſettlement; and that if it ſhould be proved that the company's duſtucks, or paſſports for trade, had even been given to ſuch as were not intitled to them, what the government had been defrauded of by ſuch practices ſhould be refunded. Mr. Watts, ſurrounded by menaces, ſigned the paper, immediately after which the ſame conclave ordered him to ſend for Mr. Collet and Mr. Batſon, the two other members of the council; who came and ſigned likewiſe, and were detained with Mr. Watts in the camp. The next day they received an order to ſurrender the fort; but repreſenting that this did not now depend on themſelves, no umbrage was taken at the delay of their conferences with one another, and their meſſages to the garriſon, who, deeming the fort, as it really was, untenable, the Nabob's officers, with a number of followers, were admitted on the 4th of June; who, inſtead of ſealing up what effects they found, as the Nabob had ordered, ſtole the greateſt part; and the ſoldiery, who took poſſeſſion of the factory, inſulted the garriſon with every kind of contumely and reproach. This behaviour continued three days, and ſo much affected the mind of the

1756. commanding officer, Enſign Elliot, that he ſhot himſelf through the head.

The cannon and ammunition were carried to the camp; the ſoldiers were ſent to the common priſon at Muxadavad; Mr. Batſon, one of the council, and the younger men in the company's ſervice, were permitted to retire to the French and Dutch factories; and Meſſ. Watts and Collet, inſtead of being employed as they expected to repreſent the will of Surajah Dowlah to the preſidency of Calcutta, were informed that they muſt accompany him thither. None of the Nabob's officers endeavoured to reſtrain him from this raſh and violent reſolution: they believed themſelves marching to the plunder of one of the moſt opulent cities in the empire. But Seat Mootabray and Roopchund, the ſons of the banker Juggutſeat, who had ſucceeded to the wealth and employments of their father, and derived great advantages from the European trade in the province, ventured to repreſent the Engliſh as a colony of inoffenſive and uſeful merchants, and earneſtly entreated the Nabob to moderate his reſentment againſt them; but their remonſtrances were vain; and on the 5th of June the army began their march towards Calcutta.

During theſe proceedings, letters were daily diſpatched from Calcutta, inſtructing Mr. Watts to aſſure the Nabob that the preſidency was ready to obey his orders, to demoliſh whatſoever additions had been made to their fortifications, and what other buildings without the fort might have been repreſented to him as works intended for defence; but none of theſe letters reached Mr. Watts, and were probably carried to the Nabob, whoſe intentions they incouraged. Coja Wazeed, the principal merchant of the province, who reſided at Hughley, was likewiſe deſired to interpoſe his mediation; to whom the Nabob replied, that Mr. Drake had grievouſly offended him, and that he would not ſuffer the Engliſh to remain in his country on any other terms than were allowed them in the reign of the Nabob Jaffier. In the mean time, as the principal reaſon aſſigned for Surajah Dowlah's indignation was his belief, that the Engliſh were erecting new fortifications, the dread of exaſperating him

him ſtill more unfortunately deterred the preſidency from taking the neceſſary meaſures to oppoſe, until there remained no longer any hopes of appeaſing him: and in this precarious ſuſpence twenty days, in which much might have been done, were ſuffered to elapſe unemployed. But on the 7th of June, when news was received of the ſurrender of Coſſimbuzar, they were convinced that they muſt owe their ſafety to reſiſtance. 1756.

Letters were immediately diſpatched to Madraſs and Bombay requeſting reinforcements, but without any probability that any could arrive from either in time; for the ſea was ſhut by the ſouth monſoon, and the meſſengers of the country could not arrive at either of their deſtinations in leſs than 30 days. As a relief nearer at hand, the French and Dutch preſidencies at Chandernagore and Chinchura were ſolicited, as in a common cauſe, to enter into a defenſive alliance againſt the Nabob; but the Dutch poſitively refuſed, and the French inſolently adviſed the Engliſh to repair to Chandernagore, in which caſe they promiſed them their protection. No reſource therefore remained but in their own force, which was indeed very inadequate to the conteſt; for, although the regular garriſon conſiſted of 264 men, and the inhabitants ſerving as militia were 250; in all 514 men; yet only 174 of this number were Europeans, and of theſe not ten had ever ſeen any other than the ſervice of the parade; the reſt were Topaſſes, Armenians, and Portugueze inhabitants, on whoſe faith or ſpirit no reliance could be placed. The number of Buxerries, or Indian matchlock men, were therefore augmented to 1500; proviſions were laid in ſtore, and works of defence, ſuch as the time would admit, were erected.

Whilſt the Nabob was advancing, it was determined to take poſſeſſion of the fort of Tannah, which lay about 5 miles below Calcutta on the oppoſite ſhore, and commanded the narroweſt part of the river between Hughley and the ſea with 13 pieces of cannon. Two ſhips of 300 tons, and two brigantines, anchored before it early in the morning of the 13th of June; and as ſoon as they began to fire, the Mooriſh garriſon, which did not exceed fifty men, fled: on which ſome Europeans and Laſcars landed; and having diſ-

1756. abled part of the cannon, flung the reſt into the river. But the next day they were attacked by a detachment of 2000 men, ſent from Hughley, who ſtormed the fort, drove them to their boats, and then began to fire, with their matchlocks and two ſmall field-pieces, on the veſſels, which endeavoured in vain with their cannon and muſketry to diſlodge them. The next day a reinforcement of 30 ſoldiers were ſent from Calcutta, but the cannonade having made no impreſſion, they and the veſſels returned to the town.

On the 13th likewiſe a letter was intercepted, written to Omichund, by the Nabob's head ſpy, adviſing him to ſend his effects out of the reach of danger as ſoon as poſſible: which confirming the ſuſpicions that were already entertained of Omichund's conduct, he was immediately apprehended, and put under ſtrict confinement in the fort; and a guard of twenty men was placed in his houſe, that his effects might not be clandeſtinely removed. His brother in law, Hazarimull, who had the chief management of his affairs, concealed himſelf in the apartments of the women, until the next day; when the guard, endeavouring to take him, were reſiſted by the whole body of Omichund's peons, and armed domeſticks, amounting to 300: ſeveral were wounded on both ſides before the fray ended; during which, the head of the peons, who was an Indian of a high caſt, ſet fire to the houſe, and, in order to ſave the women of the family from the diſhonour of being expoſed to ſtrangers, entered their apartments, and killed, it is ſaid, thirteen of them with his own hand; after which, he ſtabbed himſelf, but, contrary to his intention, not mortally. At the ſame time, Kiſſendaſs was brought into the fort by another detachment.

Mean while the Nabob advanced with ſuch uncommon diligence, that many of his troops died of fatigue, and many were killed by the ſun, which at this ſeaſon ſtruck perpendicular on their heads: on the 15th day of June, the 7th of their march, they arrived at Hughley, from whence they croſſed the river in a vaſt fleet of boats; many of which had accompanied the army from Muxadavad, and

PLAN.
for the intelligence of the Military Operations at
CALCUTTA,
when attacked and taken by
SEERAJAH DOWLET
1756.
References.
a. Fort William
b. The adjoining Warehouses
c. The Governors house
d. Mr. Cruttendens
e. Mr. Eyres
f. The Church
g. The Park
h. North Battery
i. East Battery
k. South Battery
m. Palisades to Avenue
English houses
Ditches and slight works made in 1742
Avenue leading to the Eastward
RIVER HUGHLEY

the reſt had been aſſembled at Hughley. Surajah Dowlah had previouſly ſent letters to the Dutch and French ſettlements at Chinchura and Chandernagore, ordering them to aſſiſt him with their garriſons againſt Calcutta; and when his army was in ſight of their factories, he repeated his ſummons in more imperious terms; but they pleaded the treaties ſubſiſting between their nations and the Engliſh in Europe: which denial he highly reſented; but ſuppreſſed his indignation for the preſent, leſt they ſhould, as in a common cauſe, take up arms in conjunction with the Engliſh. But to this they were nothing inclined. 1756.

The news of the enemy's approach was brought to Calcutta early the next morning, the 16th of June; on which the militia and military repaired to their poſts, and the Engliſh women quitted their houſes, and retired into the fort. Moſt of the Indian inhabitants who had not already taken flight now deſerted the town, and fled, they knew not whither, to avoid the ſtorm; but the Portugueſe, or black Chriſtians, availing themſelves of this title, flocked to the fort, into which more than 2000 of them, men, women, and children, were imprudently admitted. At noon the van of the Nabob's army, marching from the northward, appeared in ſight of the company's bounds, and, having neither reconnoitred nor gained intelligence, they remained ignorant that the Morattoe-ditch did not continue round the limits, but left an opening without defences to the ſouth. They therefore, without heſitation, advanced to attack the part which lay directly before them, where a deep rivulet, without any bank behind it, ſupplied the place of the Morattoe-ditch; and the redoubt, called *Perring's*, which was one of the objects of the Nabob's diſpleaſure, ſtood on a point of land at the mouth of the rivulet; but being only intended to command the river, this work had but one embraſure towards the land. Contiguous to the redoubt ſtood a bridge, which was the only paſſage over the rivulet; on the other ſide of which, within 100 yards, were thickets and groves, through which lay the high road. A ſhip of 18 guns had been ſtationed to the north of the redoubt, in order to flank the thickets: the greateſt part of the company's buxerries were aſſembled here to defend

1756. defend the rivulet; and as the guard of the redoubt was only 20 Europeans, 30 more, with two field-pieces, were ſent from the fort to their aſſiſtance. Four thouſand of the enemy's matchlocks with four pieces of cannon took poſſeſſion of the thickets, and from three in the afternoon until night kept up a conſtant fire, the cannon againſt the redoubt, the matchlocks every where. It was returned by the redoubt and the field-pieces, which were placed in the rear of the bridge and oppoſite to the road, and the buxerries wherever they choſe. At midnight nothing was moving in the thickets; for every man after eating his meal had, as uſual, betook himſelf to ſleep; which enſign Piſchard, who had ſerved on the coaſt of Coromandel, ſuſpected from their ſilence, and croſſing the rivulet at midnight with his party, ſeized and ſpiked the four pieces of cannon, beat up and drove all the troops out of the thickets, and returned without the loſs of a man.

The Jemautdar of Omichund's peons, wounded as he was, had cauſed himſelf to be tranſported to the enemy's camp; and by his advice they deſiſted from renewing the attack on the north, and the whole army moved to the eaſtward of the company's bounds, into which ſeveral parties entered through paſſages which there were no troops to defend. In the afternoon they ſet fire to the great bazar, or market, within half a mile north-eaſt of the fort, and took poſſeſſion of the quarter inhabited by the principal Indian merchants, which commenced half a mile, to the north, and extended moſtly along the bank of the river. A party was ſent to drive them away, and retuned with ſome priſoners, who reported that the enemy intended the next day to make a general attack upon the out-poſts; on which the party was recalled from Perring's redoubt to the north of the bounds; and every one paſſed the night under arms.

The fort of Calcutta, called Fort-William, was ſituated near the river, and nearly half way between the northern and ſouthern extremities of the company's territory. Its ſides to the eaſt and weſt extended 210 yards; the ſouthern ſide 130, and the northern 100: it had four baſtions, mounting each 10 guns: the curtains were only four feet thick, and, like the factory of Coſſimbuzar, terraſſes,

raſſes, which were the roofs of chambers, formed the top of the ramparts; and windows belonging to theſe chambers were in ſeveral places opened in the curtains: the gate-way on the eaſtern ſide projected, and mounted five guns, three in front, and one on each flank towards the baſtions: under the weſtern face and on the brink of the river, was a line of heavy cannon, mounted in embraſures of ſolid maſonry; and this work was joined to the two weſtern baſtions by two ſlender walls, in each of which was a gate of palliſadoes. In the year 1747, warehouſes had been built contiguous to the ſouthern curtain, and projecting on the out-ſide, between the two baſtions, rendered them uſeleſs to one another; however, the terraſſes of theſe warehouſes were ſtrong enough to bear the firing of three pounders which were mounted in barbett over a ſlight parapet. 1756.

The houſes of the Engliſh inhabitants occupied the ground ſix hundred yards towards the eaſt, and half a mile to the north and ſouth of the fort; but lay ſcattered in ſpacious and ſeparate incloſures; and ſeveral of them overlooked the fort; as did the Engliſh church, which ſtood oppoſite to the N. E. baſtion; under theſe diſadvantages the fort was deemed ſo little capable of defence, that it was reſolved to oppoſe the enemy in the principal ſtreets and avenues.

Accordingly three batteries, each mounting two eighteen pounders, and two field pieces, were erected: one oppoſite to the eaſtern gate of the fort, at the diſtance of 300 yards, in the principal avenue, which continued in a ſtraight line to the eaſtward as far as the Morattoe ditch: this battery adjoined on the left to the gate-way of an incloſure, in which, at the diſtance of a few feet, ſtood a very ſpacious houſe of one floor, in which the mayor's court and aſſizes uſed to be held. A croſs-road paſſed from N. to S. along the eaſtern curtain of the fort; but 200 yards N. of it, this road loſt ſight of the fort, by a ſhort turning towards the river, along the bank of which it continued ſtreight to the N. in a ſtreet formed by houſes on one ſide, and the walls of incloſures on the other neareſt the river: at the upper end of this ſtreet, juſt beyond the turning, was another battery.

1756. The third was in the croſs-road 300 yards to the ſouth of the fort, but the ground between was clear. Breaſt-works with palliſadoes were erected in the ſmaller inlets at a diſtance, and trenches dug acroſs the more open grounds. Between the north battery and the eaſtern, or that at the mayor's court houſe, there were only two inlets, both of which led into a ſpot lying on the eaſtern ſide of the croſs-road between the church and a houſe belonging to Mr. Eyre. But the ground immediately to the ſouth-eaſt of the fort, was much more open; and part of this ſpace was occupied by a large incloſure, called *The Park*; the north ſide of which ſkirted the principal avenue leading to the eaſtern battery, the weſtern ſide extended 200 yards along the ſide of the croſs-road towards the ſouthern battery, and the eaſtern ſide ſkirted one ſide of a rope-walk about ſixty yards broad. Along the other ſide of this rope-walk ſtood three Engliſh houſes, all within effective muſket ſhot of the eaſtern battery; which, being erected at the north-eaſt angle of the park, might by turning a gun to the ſouth, ſcour the whole length of this rope-walk, but could not ſo well command the entrance into a ſmall lane, which led into the farther end of the rope-walk from the ſouth-eaſt. This paſs was of conſequence; for the enemy might from hence proceed to the ſouth wall of the park, and then continue along it without interruption to ſeveral houſes, which extended along the croſs-road, almoſt from the ſouth-weſt angle of the park to the backſide of the ſouthern battery, which ſtood 100 yards farther on in the croſs road: about 200 yards eaſt of this battery, and about the ſame diſtance to the ſouth of the lane laſt mentioned lay another paſſage, which gave inlet into a large opening, ſouth of the park; from whence the enemy might with even more facility penetrate to the ſame houſes commanding the ſouthern battery. Both theſe paſſes were therefore carefully ſecured. Immediately in front of the ſouthern battery the road was arched over a deep and miry gully, which continued to the river; but, as this battery was thought leſs tenable than either of the other two, another was erected 200 yards behind it, acroſs the ſame road, and within 100 of the fort, about the midway of the weſtern ſide of the park-wall.

The

The enemy, as it had been expected, attacked the out poſts on the 18th in the morning. At eight o'clock one of their diviſions advanced to the ſouthern battery, and, taking poſſeſſion of ſeveral houſes ſituated on each ſide of the road beyond it, fired from their matchlocks, and from their wall-pieces, an engine of much greater efficacy, carrying a ball of three ounces; the two eighteen pounders, which were mounted on the battery, cannonaded the houſes, in order to diſlodge them, but without effect. 1756.

At break of day, two field-pieces with a platoon of Europeans had been detached from the eaſtern battery to a ſlight barricaded work at ſome diſtance in the avenue; and 40 buxerries under a good officer had likewiſe been ſent to take poſt in the incloſure of the goal, which lay about 100 yards beyond the battery, on the right hand of the avenue: the walls of this incloſure were high, and holes had been ſtruck through, to admit the firing of the two field-pieces, in caſe the enemy ſhould gain their way, and oblige thoſe at the barricade to retreat to the goal. About nine o'clock, a multitude of ſome thouſands, armed with match and firelocks, advanced from the Morattoe ditch, along the avenue. They were ſtopped by the quick firing of the two field-pieces, which ſoon after diſperſed them; but they retreated into the thickets on either hand, and, ſecure under that ſhelter, kept up an inceſſant, although irregular, fire on the barricade; nevertheleſs, the party there maintained their poſt two hours, when ſeveral being killed, and more wounded, the reſt retreated, with the field pieces to the goal: at the ſame time the enemy, inſtead of advancing along the avenue, proceeded through by-ways, and got poſſeſſion of the three Engliſh houſes which ſtood along the rope-walk, and overlooked the back part of the goal, on which they fired ſo warmly from the windows and terraſſes, that in a few minutes they killed ſix buxerries, and wounded four or five Europeans; on which the reſt quitted the incloſure, leaving the field pieces behind, and returned to the battery at the Mayor's Court.

The battery to the north was likewiſe attacked about nine o'clock, but here the enemy did not find the ſame advantages as at the other two; for the ſtreet was narrow, and the incloſures which ſkirted it

1756. on the ſide next the river afforded no ſhelter that was not over-looked by the battery itſelf; and, on the other ſide, the only houſes which commanded it were contiguous to one another, and did not extend more than ſixty yards beyond; and in each of them were poſted four or five Europeans. The firſt fire from the battery diſperſed the diviſion which was marching along the ſtreet to attack it, and deterred them from appearing again in a body: nevertheleſs they remained in the croſs ſtreets, from which two or three at a time frequently uſed to come out, fire at random, and then retreat. A platoon, with a field-piece, was detached to drive them out of the croſs ſtreets; which they eaſily effected, and then proceeded along the northern ſtreet, until they loſt ſight of the battery; when the enemy, taking advantage of their error, returned through the croſs ſtreets, to cut off their retreat, but yielded again to the field-piece and the fire of the platoon. Soon after, the whole body of the enemy, which had been appointed to this attack, went away, and joined thoſe who were employed againſt the eaſtern battery.

At noon the attacks in all parts ceaſed at once, and every thing remained quiet until two, when the enemy recommenced their fire upon the eaſtern battery, not only from the three houſes in the rope walk, but alſo from two others on the left hand of the avenue; from which ſtations neither the two eighteen-pounders on the battery, nor the cannon from the fort, were able to diſlodge them. The enemy's fire was ſo inceſſant, that only the men neceſſary to ſerve the guns were ſuffered to remain in the battery, whilſt the reſt took ſhelter in the mayor's court-houſe, from whence the place of thoſe who were either killed or wounded at the guns was occaſionally ſupplied. About four o'clock in the afternoon, a multitude of the enemy forced the paliſade at the farther end of the rope-walk, although defended by a ſerjeant and twenty men; and ruſhed down the walk with ſo much impetuoſity towards the eaſtern battery, that the gunners had ſcarcely time to turn one of the eighteen pounders againſt them; however, the firſt diſcharge of grape ſhot checked, and a few more drove them to ſeek ſhelter in the covers at hand; but many of them joined thoſe who were in the houſes, from

from which the fire increaſed ſo much, that at five o'clock Captain Clayton, the military officer who commanded in the battery, ſent Mr. Holwell, who acted as a lieutenant under him, to repreſent to the governor the impoſſibility of maintaining this poſt any longer, unleſs it was immediately reinforced with cannon and men, ſufficient to drive the enemy out of the houſes: but before Mr. Holwell returned, Captain Clayton was preparing to retreat, having already ſpiked up two 18 pounders and one of the field-pieces; and the whole detachment ſoon after marched into the fort with the other. They were ſcarcely arrived before the enemy took poſſeſſion of the battery, and expreſſed their joy by exceſſive ſhouts. 1756.

The two other batteries had remained unmoleſted ſince noon; but a party had been detached from the ſouthern, to defend the paliſade to the eaſt of it, which was overlooked by two large houſes, one on each hand: a ſerjeant and twelve men, belonging to the military, poſted themſelves in one of the houſes; and a lieutenant with nine of the militia, all of whom were young men in the mercantile ſervice of the company, took poſſeſſion of the other: the fire from both defended the paſs until the eaſtern battery was deſerted, when, all the ground from hence to the two houſes being open, numbers of the enemy gathered in the ground on the inſide of the paliſade, and began to attack the two houſes, which animating thoſe who were attacking the paliſade on the other ſide, they at length tore it down, and joined thoſe already within. The ſerjeant with the twelve military ſaw their danger before the enemy had made proper diſpoſitions to prevent their eſcape, and quitting the houſe in which they had been ſtationed, proceeded by by-ways which they knew to the ſouthern battery; but did not give notice of their retreat to thoſe of the militia in the other houſe; who ſoon after ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded, without hopes of ſuccour or relief, came out in a compact body, determined to fight their way to the fort; but two, whoſe names were Smith and Wilkinſon, ſeparated from the reſt, and were immediately intercepted: the enemy, however, offered them quarter, which Smith refuſed, and, it is ſaid, ſlew five men before he fell; on which Wilkinſon ſurrendered,

1756. rendered, and was immediately cut to pieces. The other eight, always preſenting and rarely firing, got to the ſouth weſt angle of the park, when the guns, as well of the fort, as of the battery which had been raiſed acroſs the road leading to it, midway of the weſt ſide of the park-wall, deterred the enemy from accompanying them any farther. The detachments at all the three batteries, the two to the ſouth, and that to the north of the fort, were now recalled; and boats were ſent, which ſoon after brought away Enſign Piſchard, and the guard of 20 men, which was remaining at Perring's redoubt to the north.

The batteries had been ſo much relied upon as the beſt defences of the ſettlement, that the deſertion of them on the very firſt day they were attacked created general conſternation; and the uproar of 1500 black Portugueze in the fort increaſed the confuſion. Of the Laſcars, who had been inliſted to ſerve the cannon, not more than twenty, and of the buxerries not one, remained. The Armenian and Portugueze militia were ſtupified with fear. However, the Engliſh ſtill preſerved their courage, and ſmall parties were detached to the church, to Mr. Eyres, oppoſite the angle of the north-eaſt baſtion, to Mr. Cruttenden's on the north, and to the governor's houſe on the ſouth, all which commanded the ramparts. In the mean time the enemy had drilled the three guns which had been ſpiked and left in the eaſtern battery, and turned them on the fort; whilſt numbers of their troops, ſheltering themſelves in the trenches which had been dug in the park, and behind the walls of that incloſure, kept a conſtant fire of ſmall arms on the ramparts.

A ſhip and ſeven ſmaller veſſels, belonging to the ſettlement, lay before the fort; and boats, with the natives who plied them, had been carefully reſerved. As night approached, it was reſolved to ſend all the European women on board the ſhip; two of the council ſuperintended their embarkation, and were accompanied by ſeveral of the militia. Before eight o'clock the party at the governor's houſe, having been much galled by the enemy from the next houſe to the ſouth, were recalled; their retreat expoſed the range of warehouſes adjoining to the ſouth curtain, which was the weakeſt part

of

of the fort, becauſe unflanked by any baſtion; and at midnight the enemy were heard approaching to eſcalade the terraſſes of theſe warehouſes. On which the governor ordered the drums to beat the general alarm: but although this ſummons was thrice repeated, not a man appeared in obedience to it, excepting thoſe who were on duty; but the enemy, ſuppoſing the garriſon prepared, retreated. 1756.

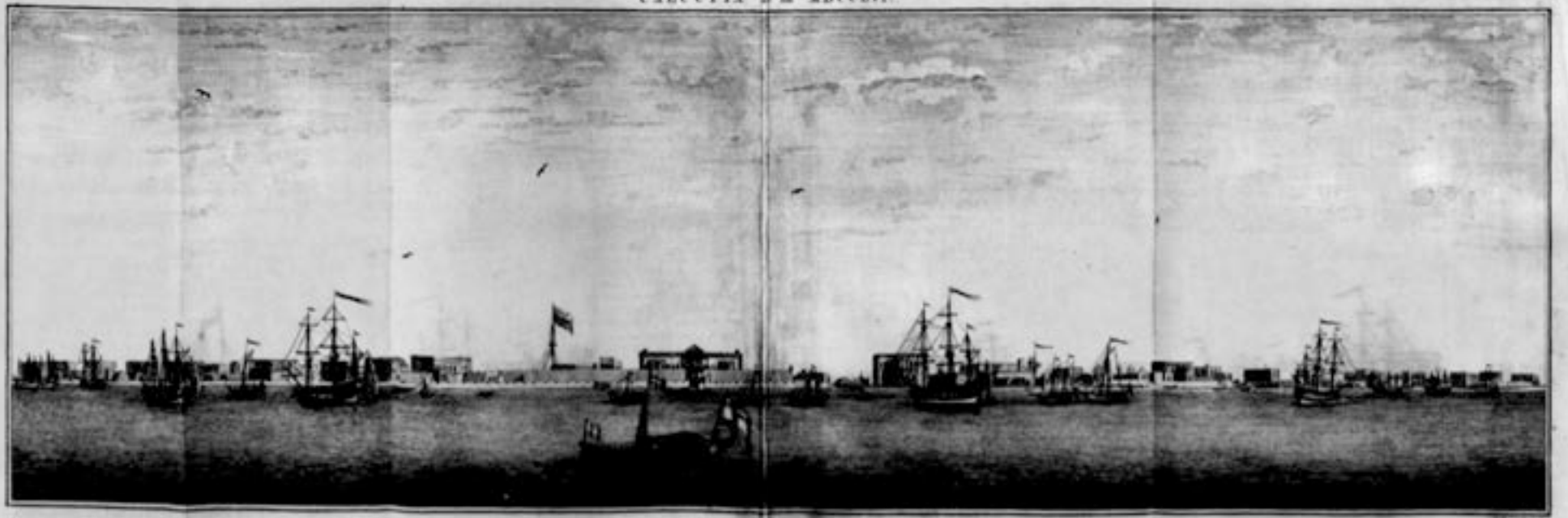
At two in the morning a general council of war was held, to which all the Engliſh, excepting the common ſoldiers, were admitted; and after debating two hours, whether they ſhould immediately eſcape to the ſhips, or defer the retreat until the next night, the council broke up, without any regular determination: but as of the two propoſals the firſt was not carried into execution, it was by many believed that the other was adopted.

The enemy renewed their attacks as ſoon as the morning appeared, by which time they had mounted three guns near the ſouth-weſt angle of the park, from whence, as well as from the eaſtern battery, they now cannonaded the fort, whilſt their matchlock men from ſeveral houſes, and behind the walls of incloſures, fired upon the ſeveral houſes in which parties were remaining, as well as upon the baſtions and ramparts. They had not, however, ventured to take poſſeſſion of the governor's houſe to the ſouth, notwithſtanding it had been evacuated ſo many hours; and another party under the command of Enſign Piſchard was ſent thither early in the morning. Ever and anon ſome one of the defenders was killed or wounded: but, although ten times the number of the enemy fell, their loſs in ſo great a multitude was ſcarcely felt, and immediately ſupplied. Before nine, Enſign Piſchard returned to the fort, wounded, and was followed by his party; on which the detachments in the church and the two other houſes were likewiſe recalled, and the poſts they quitted were immediately taken poſſeſſion of by the enemy, whoſe courage and activity increaſed with their ſucceſs, whilſt terror and confuſion prevailed more and more in the garriſon.

Many of the boats had deſerted in the night; and in the morning, when it was intended to ſhip off the Portugueze women and children,

1756. dren, the voice of order was loſt amongſt this affrighted multitude, of which every one preſſing to be firſt embarked, the boats were filled with more than they could carry; and ſeveral were overſet. Moſt of thoſe who had crouded into them were drowned, and ſuch as floated with the tide to the ſhore, were either made priſoners or maſſacred; for the enemy had taken poſſeſſion of all the houſes and incloſures along the banks of the river, from which ſtations they ſhot fire-arrows into the ſhip and veſſels, in hopes of burning them. None of the garriſon who had embarked with the Engliſh women had returned to the ſhore, and their fright being much increaſed by the fire-arrows, they, without orders from the governor, removed the ſhip from her ſtation before the fort to Govindpore, three miles lower down the river; on which all the other veſſels weighed their anchors likewiſe, and followed the ſhip: and to increaſe the evil effects of their retreat, it happened at the very time when the detachments from the fort were obliged to abandon the adjacent houſes: in this hour of trepidation many of the Engliſh militia, ſeeing the veſſels under ſail, were terrified with the apprehenſion of loſing this opportunity of eſcaping, and quitted the ſhore. The governor, utterly unexperienced in military affairs, had hitherto ſhewn no averſion to expoſe his perſon wherever his preſence was neceſſary. He had early in the morning viſited the ramparts; and after the retreat of the detachments from the houſes, when an alarm was given that the enemy were endeavouring to force their way through the gate of paliſadoes in the wall between the ſouthern baſtion and the line of guns, had repaired thither, and ordered two field-pieces to be pointed towards the gate; but found none willing to obey him. Soon after, a man came and whiſpered to him, that all the gun-powder remaining in the magazines was damp and unfit for ſervice; although diſmayed by this information, he refrained from divulging it, and endeavoured to reduce the confuſion which prevailed every where till ten o'clock; when perceiving that only two boats remained at the wharf, in one of which ſeveral of his acquaintance were preparing to eſcape, the dread of being expoſed to the reſentment of Surajah Dowlah, who

CALCUTTA in the MDCCLVI.



had often threatened to put him to death, prevailed over all other conſiderations, and, panick-ſtruck, he hurried into the other boat, without giving warning to the garriſon: the military commanding officer, and ſeveral others who ſaw him embark, followed his example, and accompanied him to the ſhip. 1756.

The aſtoniſhment of thoſe who remained in the fort was not greater than their indignation at this deſertion; and nothing was heard for ſome time but execrations againſt the fugitives. However, the concourſe ſoon proceeded to deliberation, when Mr. Pearkes, the eldeſt member of the council in the fort, reſigned his right of command to Mr. Holwell. The whole number of militia and military now remaining amounted only to 190 men: and two or threee boats being returned to the wharf, the new governor, in order to prevent any more deſertions, locked the weſtern gate leading to the river.

The ſhip which had been ſtationed at the northern redoubt ſtill remained there; and the garriſon, having determined to defend themſelves vigorouſly until they could repair on board of her, an officer was diſpatched in a boat with orders to the captain to bring her down immediately to the fort. But the reliance upon this reſource was of ſhort duration; for the ſhip coming down ſtruck on a ſand-bank, and was immediately abandoned by the crew. In the mean time the fort was warmly attacked, and bravely defended until the enemy ceaſed firing at noon: neither did they renew their efforts with much vigour during the reſt of the day, or the ſucceeding night; but employed themſelves in ſetting fire to all the adjacent houſes, excepting thoſe which commanded the ramparts. In this interval the garriſon continually threw out ſignals, flags by day and fires by night, calling the veſſels at Govindpore to return to the fort: but this their laſt expectation of relief was likewiſe diſappointed, for not a ſingle veſſel came to their aſſiſtance.

The next morning the enemy recommenced their attacks with greater numbers than ever; and whilſt ſome of the garriſon were expoſing themſelves with much reſolution, others were entreating Mr. Holwell to capitulate; who, to calm the minds of ſuch as

deſponded,

1756. deſponded, at ſun-riſe, threw a letter from the rampart, written by the priſoner Omichund, to Monickchund, the governor of Hughley, who commanded a conſiderable body of troops in the army before the fort, requeſting him to intercede with the Nabob to ceaſe hoſtilities, ſince the Engliſh were ready to obey his commands, and only perſiſted in defending the fort to preſerve their lives and honour. The letter was taken up, but the enemy nevertheleſs continued their attacks until noon, when a large body attempted to eſcalade the northern curtain, under cover of a ſtrong fire of their ſmall arms from Mr. Cruttenden's houſe; but, after perſevering half an hour, they were repulſed, and the fire on all the other quarters of the fort ceaſed as ſoon as this body retreated. In theſe few hours twenty-five of the garriſon had been killed, or were lying deſperately wounded, and ſeventy more had received ſlighter hurts; and the common ſoldiers having broke open the ſtore-houſe of arrack, were intoxicated beyond all ſenſe of duty.

At two the enemy appeared again, but acted faintly; and at four a man was diſcovered advancing, with a flag of truce in his hand, which Mr. Holwell, at the general requeſt, anſwered with another on the ſouth-eaſt baſtion, from whence he at the ſame time threw a letter which he had prepared, addreſſed to the duan, Roydulub, of the ſame purport as that which Omichund had written in the morning to Monickchund. A parley enſued, during which many of the enemy flocked to the eaſtern gate of the fort, and to the gate of paliſadoes near the ſouth-weſt baſtion, both which they attempted to cut down; whilſt greater numbers, with ſcaling ladders endeavoured to mount the warehouſes to the ſouth: a ſhot was likewiſe fired, which wounded Mr. Bailley, as he was ſtanding on the S. E. baſtion with Mr. Holwell, who immediately ran down to bring men to the ramparts: but few obeyed, and thoſe who would have been willing had retired to various parts of the fort to get ſleep; and whilſt ſearch was making for them, the drunken ſoldiers, intending to eſcape to the river, broke open the weſtern gate of the fort, juſt as a body of the enemy had forced the gate of paliſades, and were ruſhing to attack this likewiſe, which they found

found opening: others at the ſame time had eſcaladed the ware-houſes. In this confuſion no reſiſtance was made, and every one ſurrendering his arms, the Nabob's troops refrained from bloodſhed; but about 20 of the garriſon ran to the N. W. baſtion, and dropped from the embraſures, where ſome eſcaped along the ſlime of the river, and others were ſurrounded and taken priſoners. 1756.

At five the Nabob entered the fort, accompanied by his general Meer Jaffier, and moſt of the principal officers of his army. He immediately ordered Omichund and Kiſſendaſs to be brought before him, and received them with civility; and having bid ſome officers go and take poſſeſſion of the company's treaſury, he proceeded to the principal apartment of the factory, where he ſat in ſtate and received the compliments of his court and attendants in magnificent expreſſions of his proweſs and good fortune. Soon after he ſent for Mr. Holwell, to whom he expreſſed much reſentment at the preſumption of the Engliſh in daring to defend the fort, and much diſſatisfaction at the ſmallneſs of the ſum found in the treaſury, which did not exceed 50,000 rupees. Mr. Holwell had two other conferences with him on this ſubject before ſeven o'clock, when the Nabob diſmiſſed him with repeated aſſurances, on the word of a ſoldier, that he ſhould ſuffer no harm.

Mr. Holwell, returning to his unfortunate companions, found them aſſembled and ſurrounded by a ſtrong guard. Several buildings on the north and ſouth ſides of the fort were already in flames, which approached with ſo thick a ſmoke on either hand, that the priſoners imagined their enemies had cauſed this conflagration, in order to ſuffocate them between the two fires. On each ſide of the eaſtern gate of the fort extended a range of chambers adjoining to the curtain; and before the chambers a varanda, or open gallery: it was of arched maſonry, and intended to ſhelter the ſoldiers from the ſun and rain, but being low, almoſt totally obſtructed the chambers behind from the light and air; and whilſt ſome of the guard were looking in other parts of the factory for proper places to confine the priſoners during the night, the reſt ordered them to aſſemble in ranks under the varanda on the right hand of the gate-

1756. way; where they remained for ſome time with ſo little ſuſpicion of their impending fate, that they laughed among themſelves at the ſeeming oddity of this diſpoſition, and amuſed themſelves with conjecturing what they ſhould next be ordered to do. About eight o'clock, thoſe who had been ſent to examine the rooms reported that they had found none fit for the purpoſe. On which the principal officer commanded the priſoners to go into one of the rooms which ſtood behind them along the varanda. It was the common dungeon of the garriſon, who uſed to call it *The Black Hole*. Many of the priſoners knowing the place, began to expoſtulate; upon which the officer ordered his men to cut down thoſe who heſitated; on which the priſoners obeyed. But before all were within, the room was ſo thronged, that the laſt entered with difficulty. The guard immediately cloſed and locked the door; confining 146 perſons in a room not 20 feet ſquare, with only two ſmall windows, and theſe obſtructed by the varanda.

It was the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year; and the night uncommonly ſultry even at this ſeaſon. The exceſſive preſſure of their bodies againſt one another, and the intolerable heat which prevailed as ſoon as the door was ſhut, convinced the priſoners that it was impoſſible to live through the night in this horrible confinement; and violent attempts were immediately made to force the door; but without effect, for it opened inward: on which many began to give a looſe to rage. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himſelf at one of the windows, exhorted them to remain compoſed both in body and mind, as the only means of ſurviving the night, and his remonſtrances produced a ſhort interval of quiet; during which he applied to an old Jemautdar, who bore ſome marks of humanity in his countenance, promiſing to give him a thouſand rupees in the morning, if he would ſeparate the priſoners into two chambers. The old man went to try, but returning in a few minutes, ſaid it was impoſſible; when Mr. Holwell offered him a larger ſum; on which he retired once more, and returned with the fatal ſentence, that no relief could be expected, becauſe the Nabob was aſleep, and no one dared to wake him.

In

In the mean time every minute had increaſed their ſufferings. 1756.
The firſt effect of their confinement was a profuſe and continued ſweat, which ſoon produced intolerable thirſt, ſucceeded by excruciating pains in the breaſt, with difficulty of breathing little ſhort of ſuffocation. Various means were tried to obtain more room and air. Every one ſtripped off his cloaths; every hat was put in motion; and theſe methods affording no relief, it was propoſed that they ſhould all ſit down on their hams at the ſame time, and after remaining a little while in this poſture, riſe all together. This fatal expedient was thrice repeated before they had been confined an hour; and every time, ſeveral unable to rear themſelves up again, fell, and were trampled to death by their companions. Attempts were again made to force the door, which, failing as before, redoubled their rage: but the thirſt increaſing, nothing but water! water! became ſoon after the general cry. The good Jemautdar immediately ordered ſome ſkins of water to be brought to the windows; but, inſtead of relief, his benevolence became a more dreadful cauſe of deſtruction; for the ſight of the water threw every one into ſuch exceſſive agitations and ravings, that, unable to reſiſt this violent impulſe of nature, none could wait to be regularly ſerved, but each with the utmoſt ferocity battled againſt thoſe who were likely to get it before him; and in theſe conflicts many were either preſſed to death by the efforts of others, or ſuffocated by their own. This ſcene, inſtead of producing compaſſion in the guard without, only excited their mirth; and they held up lights to the bars, in order to have the diabolical ſatisfaction of ſeeing the deplorable contentions of the ſufferers within; who, finding it impoſſible to get any water whilſt it was thus furiouſly diſputed, at length ſuffered thoſe who were neareſt to the windows, to convey it in their hats to thoſe behind them. It proved no relief either to their thirſt, or other ſufferings; for the fever encreaſed every moment with the encreaſing depravity of the air in the dungeon, which had been ſo often reſpired, and was ſaturated with the hot and deleterious effluvia of putrifying bodies; of which the ſtench was little leſs than mortal. Before midnight, all who were alive and had not partaken of the

1756. air at the windows, were either in a lethargic ſtupefaction, or raving with delirium. Every kind of invective and abuſe was uttered, in hopes of provoking the guard to put an end to their miſeries, by firing into the dungeon; and whilſt ſome were blaſpheming their creator with the frantic execrations of torment in deſpair, heaven was implored by others with wild and incoherent prayers; until the weaker, exhauſted by theſe agitations, at length laid down quietly, and expired on the bodies of their dead or agonizing friends. Thoſe who ſtill ſurvived in the inward part of the dungeon, finding that the water had afforded them no relief, made a laſt effort to obtain air, by endeavouring to ſcramble over the heads of thoſe who ſtood between them and the windows; where the utmoſt ſtrength of every one was employed for two hours, either in maintaining his own ground, or in endeavouring to get that of which others were in poſſeſſion. All regards of compaſſion and affection were loſt, and no one would recede or give way for the relief of another. Faintneſs ſometimes gave ſhort pauſes of quiet, but the firſt motion of any one renewed the ſtruggle through all, under which ever and anon ſome one ſunk to riſe no more. At two o'clock not more than fifty remained alive. But even this number were too many to partake of the ſaving air, the conteſt for which and life, continued until the morn, long implored, began to break; and, with the hope of relief, gave the few ſurvivors a view of the dead. The ſurvivors then at the window, finding that their intreaties could not prevail on the guard to open the door, it occurred to Mr. Cooke, the ſecretary of the council, that Mr. Holwell, if alive, might have more influence to obtain their relief; and two of the company undertaking the ſearch, diſcovered him, having ſtill ſome ſigns of life; but when they brought him towards the window, every one refuſed to quit his place, excepting Captain Mills, who with rare generoſity offered to reſign his; on which the reſt likewiſe agreed to make room. He had ſcarcely begun to recover his ſenſes, before an officer, ſent by the Nabob, came and enquired if the Engliſh chief ſurvived; and ſoon after the ſame man returned with an order to open the priſon. The dead were ſo thronged, and the ſurvivors had

ſo little ſtrength remaining, that they were employed near half an hour in removing the bodies which lay againſt the door, before they could clear a paſſage to go out one at a time; when of one hundred and forty-ſix who went in, no more than twenty-three came out alive, the ghaſtlieſt forms that ever were ſeen alive. The Nabob's troops beheld them, and the havock of death from which they had eſcaped, with indifference; but did not prevent them from removing to a diſtance, and were immediately obliged, by the intolerable ſtench, to clear the dungeon, whilſt others dug a ditch on the outſide of the fort, into which all the dead bodies were promiſcuouſly thrown. 1756.

Mr. Holwell, unable to ſtand, was ſoon after carried to the Nabob, who was ſo far from ſhewing any compaſſion for his condition, or remorſe for the death of the other priſoners, that he only talked of the treaſures which the Engliſh had buried; and threatening him with farther injuries, if he perſiſted in concealing them, ordered him to be kept a priſoner. The officers to whoſe charge he was delivered, put him into fetters, together with Meſſrs. Court and Walcot, who were likewiſe ſuppoſed to know ſomething of the treaſures; the reſt of the ſurvivors, amongſt whom were Meſſrs. Cooke and Mills, were told they might go where they pleaſed; but an Engliſh woman, the only one of her ſex amongſt the ſufferers, was reſerved for the ſeraglio of the general Meer Jaffier. The dread of remaining any longer within the reach of ſuch barbarians determined moſt of them to remove immediately, as far as their ſtrength enabled them, from the fort, and moſt tended towards the veſſels which were ſtill in ſight; but when they reached Govindpore in the ſouthern part of the company's bounds, they were informed that guards were ſtationed to prevent any perſons from paſſing to the veſſels, on which moſt of them took ſhelter in deſerted huts, where ſome of the natives, who had ſerved the Engliſh in different employments, came and adminiſtered to their immediate wants. Two or three however ventured, and got to the veſſels before ſun-ſet. Their appearance and the dreadful tale they had to tell were the ſevereſt of reproaches to thoſe on board, who, intent only on their own preſervation,

1756. ſervation, had made no efforts to facilitate the eſcape of the reſt of the garriſon: never perhaps was ſuch an opportunity of performing an heroic action ſo ignominiouſly neglected: for a ſingle ſloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in ſpite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away all who ſuffered in the dungeon.

But the trepidation on board of all the veſſels had been ſo great, that, having ſailed in the morning in order to proceed lower down the river, the fire from the fort of Tannah, where the enemy had again mounted ſeveral pieces of cannon, drove a ſnow and a ſloop aſhore; on which the reſt returned to the ſtation they had quitted at Govindpore, where they remained until the 24th, when they were joined by two ſhips from Bombay, which came up the river, and had ſuſtained the fire of Tannah without any hurt. Encouraged by this example and reinforcement, the fleet again weighed anchor, and proceeding with better conduct, paſſed the fort of Tannah with the loſs of only two laſcars: on the 25th they paſſed Buzbuzia, another fort twenty miles lower down, where the enemy were only preparing to mount cannon: here another veſſel was ſtranded by bad navigation: on the 26th they arrived at Fulta, a town with a market, which is the ſtation of all the Dutch ſhipping. The ſoutherly monſoon which prevailed at this time rendering it impoſſible to quit the river, it was determined to remain at Fulta, if not driven away by the Nabob, until the ſeaſon changed.

Mean while the Nabob's army were employed in plundering Calcutta, where the booty, although ſufficient to gratify the common ſoldiery, produced nothing that anſwered the expectations which had urged the Nabob to get poſſeſſion of the ſettlement. Moſt of the inhabitants, excepting Omichund, had removed their valuable effects; but in his treaſury were found 400,000 rupees, beſides many valuable effects. Moſt of the merchandizes provided in the country had been ſhipped to different ports before the month of April, after which time veſſels cannot go out of the river. None of the company's ſhips were arrived from England; and none of thoſe belonging to private merchants were returned from their voyages; and the

greateſt

greateſt part of the commodities imported in the preceding year were ſold; neither had the goods providing at the aurungs for the enſuing ſeaſon been brought to Calcutta; ſo that the whole amount of the merchandizes remaining in the ſettlement did not exceed in value the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds; which was much diminiſhed before they had paſſed through the rapine of the ſoldiery, and the embezzlement of the officers appointed to manage the plunder. The Nabob, irritated by the diſappointment of his expectations of immenſe wealth, ordered Mr. Holwell and the two other priſoners to be ſent to Muxadavad, in hopes that they would at laſt diſcover where the treaſures of the ſettlement were buried. This order was executed by his officers with all the ſeverity that the fear of cauſing the death of the priſoners would admit. They were put into an open boat, without ſhelter from the intenſe ſun and heavy rain of the ſeaſon, fed only with rice and water, and loaded with irons, notwithſtanding their bodies were covered with painful boils; a criſis by which all who ſurvived the dungeon recovered of their fever. In their paſſage up the river, they received ſome refreſhments from the Dutch ſettlement at Chinchura; and both the French and Dutch at Coſſimbuzar adminiſtered to them all the offices of humanity which their guard would permit, who, on their arrival at the capital, choſe a cow-houſe for the place of their confinement. 1756.

It could ſcarcely be imagined that the Nabob, after ſuch flagrant injuries, ſhould ſuffer the remains of the colony to abide within his dominions, in expectation of reinforcements. But there always reigned ſo much confuſion in his mind, that he rarely carried his ideas beyond the preſent appearance of things; and, ſoothed by the compliments of his courtiers into a belief that the reduction of Calcutta was the moſt glorious and heroic atchievement that had been performed in Indoſtan ſince the days of Tamerlane, he imagined that the Engliſh nation would never dare to appear again in arms in his country; and, having written letters full of theſe commendations of himſelf to Delhi, he neglected to purſue the fugitives,

and

1756. and determined to avail himſelf of the terror of his arms againſt his rival and relation, the Phouſdar of Purneah.

To perpetuate the memory of his victory he ordered the name of Calcutta to be changed to Alinagore, ſignifying *The Port of God*; and, leaving a garriſon of 3000 men, and Monickchund to command in the place, he departed with the reſt of his army on the ſecond of July. Two or three days before his departure he publiſhed leave to ſuch as had eſcaped the dungeon to return to their houſes in the town, where they were ſupplied with proviſions by Omichund, whoſe interceſſion had probably procured their return. But this indulgence was rendered of ſhort duration by the intemperance of a ſerjeant, who in a fit of drunkenneſs killed a Moorman. This happened on the laſt of June, on which the ban was publiſhed againſt every European who ſhould be found in the territory. All fled immediately to the French, Dutch, and Pruſſian factories, from whence at different times moſt of them repaired to the fleet at Fulta.

As ſoon as the Nabob's army had croſſed the river near Hughley, he ſent a detachment to the French, and another to the Dutch ſettlement, threatening to extirpate them both, if they did not immediately pay him a large ſum of money: but, after receiving many ſubmiſſive aſſurances of their pacific diſpoſitions, he conſented to releaſe the Dutch for the ſum of 450,000 rupees, and the French for 100,000 leſs; which difference, it is ſaid, he made becauſe the French had ſupplied him with 200 cheſts of gunpowder, as he was marching to Calcutta. At the ſame time he releaſed Mr. Watts and Mr. Collet, who had hitherto been led priſoners in his camp, and conſigned them to the care of the Dutch governor at Chinchura, from whom he took an obligation to produce them whenſoever they ſhould be demanded. On the 11th he arrived at Muxadavad, from whence he iſſued orders, commanding the ſeizure and ſequeſtration of all the effects and merchandiſes belonging to the Engliſh, or their tenants, in all parts of his dominions. However, finding that no diſcoveries could be obtained concerning the treaſures which he ſuppoſed to be buried in Calcutta, he, on the 16th,

16th, in compliance with the frequent interceſſions of the widow of Allaverdy, releaſed Mr. Holwell and his two companions, ſignifying their deliverance in perſon, as he was paſſing by the ſhed of their confinement. They immediately repaired to the Dutch factory, where they were received with much hoſpitality, and from thence proceeded to Chinchura. 1756.

Mean while, the fleet remained at Fulta, where they were joined by ſeveral other veſſels from the ſea. The company's agents likewiſe from the ſubordinate factories at Dacca, Jugdea, and Ballaſore, having on the firſt alarm eſcaped from theſe reſidencies, reſorted to the fleet. For ſome time no proviſions could be procured; but as ſoon as the Nabob's army left Calcutta, the country people venture to ſupply them.

The want of convenient ſhelter, as well as the dread of being ſurprized, obliged them all to ſleep on board the veſſels, which were ſo much crowded, that all lay promiſcuouſly on the decks, without ſhelter from the rains of the ſeaſon, and for ſome time without a change of raiment; for none had brought any ſtore away: and theſe hardſhips, inconſiderable as they may ſeem, were grievous to perſons, of whom the greateſt part had lived many years in the gentle eaſe of India. But ſufferings which the hardieſt cannot reſiſt enſued: for the lower part of Bengal, between the two arms of the Ganges, is the moſt unhealthy country in the world; and many died of a malignant fever, which infected all the veſſels.

But, inſtead of alleviating their diſtreſſes by that ſpirit of mutual good-will, which is ſuppoſed to prevail amongſt companions in miſery, every one turned his mind to inviduous diſcuſſions of the cauſes which had produced their misfortunes; although all ſeemed to expect a day when they ſhould be reſtored to Calcutta. The younger men in the company's ſervice, who had not held any part in the government, endeavoured to fix every kind of blame on their ſuperiors, whom they wiſhed to ſee removed from ſtations, to which they expected to ſucceed. At the ſame time, the members of the council accuſed one another, all concurring to lay the ſevereſt blame upon the governor; and theſe examples gave riſe to the ſame

1756. ſpirit of malevolence amongſt thoſe who could derive no benefit from their invectives, beyond the vanity of their temporary importance.

The conduct of the military operations was void of method, ſubordination, diſcipline, and ſkill. All the out-poſts were at too great a diſtance from the fort; only the three or four neareſt buildings ſhould have been occupied: all beyond them blown up, or the floors of their upper ſtories ruined. The walls of all the incloſures within the aim of muſket-ſhot from the fort, ſhould have been demoliſhed, and the rubbiſh removed. A ditch and paliſade ſhould have been carried on, if time admitted no more, at leaſt in the weakeſt parts, round the fort, eſpecially along the warehouſes to the ſouth. Shells ſhould have been thrown wherever the enemy aſſembled or took poſt, and reſolute ſallies ſhould have been made in the night into their open quarters, which in ſuch a multitude muſt have been many. By theſe means the defence might have been protracted ten days, during which, if the Nabob could not be appeaſed, the arrival of the ſhips of the ſeaſon would have ſecured the retreat of the defenders and their families without danger. Although nothing of theſe operations was executed, the neglect of them was not imputed; but cowardice in general was reproached to thoſe who firſt left the ſhore, and with little decency, by thoſe who accompanied, or followed their flight, and all aſſembled at Fulta, excepting three or four, were in one or other of theſe predicaments.

The cauſes to which the reſentment of the Nabob was imputed, were more vague, but caſt, if poſſible, more blame. The paper, which was ſigned by Mr. Watts immediately after he was made priſoner at Coſſimbuzar, was urged as a proof that the government of Bengal had been defrauded of vaſt ſums by the abuſe which the company's agents had made of the *duſtucks* or paſſports for trade, which, it is ſaid, had been commonly ſold to the Indian merchants reſiding in the ſettlement, who were not intitled to that privilege: but, although this fraud was ſometimes committed by the indigent and profligate, the greateſt part of the Engliſh commerce was carried on by men, whoſe character and fortune placed them beyond the neceſſity or ſuſpicion of ſuch a meanneſs: ſo that this practice could not have been either ſo frequent or injurious to the revenues of Bengal,

Bengal, as the rapacious miniſters of Surajah Dowlah might have made him believe; more eſpecially ſince the Nabob Allaverdy never accuſed the Engliſh of ſuch illicit practices. The other article ſigned by Mr. Watts, concerning the protection given to the ſubjects of the Nabob, was likewiſe inſiſted on; although for fifteen years before Kiſſendaſs, the government had never claimed any perſons who took up their reſidence in Calcutta. However, theſe reflections carrying againſt no one in particular, it was boldly aſſerted, that the protection of Kiſſendaſs, which certainly did contribute to the Nabob's reſentment, had been purchaſed by large bribes: but this accuſation was abſurd, becauſe they muſt have come through his hoſt Omichund, whom the preſidency regarded as the firſt, though latent cauſe of all their calamities, and puniſhed accordingly. It was likewiſe aſſerted, that the governor, Mr. Drake, had written an inſolent letter to the Nabob, in anſwer to his order for demoliſhing the fortifications; and that he ſent a meſſage of defiance to him by the ſpy who brought the letter concerning Kiſſendaſs: reports, for which no evidence was produced. 1756.

There is ſufficient teſtimony to believe that the ſagacity of Allaverdy, reflecting on the fates of Nazirjing and Chunderſaheb, the ſubſequent war in Coromandel, and the late reduction of Angria, and comparing theſe military exploits of the French and Engliſh with the former humility of their condition in the Mogul's dominions, ſhould have adviſed his young ſucceſſor, Surajah Dowlah, to watch the military meaſures of all the European ſettlements in Bengal, and to ſuffer no increaſe in their garriſons, nor addition in their fortifications, and to cruſh immediately whichſoever of them ſhould manifeſt any ſymptom of defiance, or confidence in their own ſtrength; but at the ſame time to give every encouragement to their commercial views, not only as an eſſential benefit to the province, but likewiſe as the beſt ſecurity of their dependance on his government. This admitted, the diſorderly brain of Surajah Dowlah, his exceſſive cowardice, his tyrannical ideas, and the inſtigations of his minions, repreſenting Calcutta as one of the richeſt cities in the world, ſufficiently account for his incapacity to diſtinguiſh the neceſſary ſeaſon of carrying the advice of his predeceſſor into execution, and for his inflexible perſeverance in a reſolu-

1756. tion which flattered the puſillanimity and other vices of his own mind.

The Engliſh at Fulta, notwithſtanding their wrangles, agreed to acknowledge the authority of the governor, and of ſuch others as had been members of the council at Calcutta, who in the beginning of July deputed Mr. Maningham, one of the members, with a military officer, to repreſent their condition to the preſidency of Madraſs, and to ſolicit the expedition of an armament to their aſſiſtance. With them our narrative returns to the coaſt of Coromandel.

WAR OF COROMANDEL. ALL was loſt before the preſidency of Madraſs even received intelligence of the danger; for the letters, adviſing the ſurrender of Coſſimbuzar, did not arrive until the 15th of July. The experience of former embroilments between the European ſettlements and the government of Bengal, ſuggeſted hopes that the Nabob would, as his predeceſſors, be appeaſed with a ſum of money. But whether this or the worſt ſhould happen, it was deemed neceſſary, in either caſe, to ſend a reinforcement without delay; in the one, to render the ſettlement more reſpectable to the Nabob; in the other, to afford refuge to ſuch as might have eſcaped the calamities of war.

The ſquadron under the command of Admiral Watſon, and the Delaware, one of the company's ſhips lately arrived from England, chanced at this time to be in the road of Madraſs: but, as it would have been highly imprudent to ſend away, or divide the ſquadron until the laſt extremity, a detachment of 230 men, moſtly Europeans, were ſhipped on board the Delaware, under the command of Major Kilpatrick. They ſailed on the 20th of July, and on the 5th of Auguſt arrived letters from the fugitives at Fulta, with details of the capture of Calcutta, which ſcarcely created more horror and reſentment than conſternation and perplexity.

We have ſaid that the preſidency was at this time preparing to ſend a detachment of 300 Europeans with deputies to Salabadjing, who had ſolicited this aſſiſtance to rid himſelf of the French army under the command of Mr. Buſſy. The government of Pondicherry, as ſoon as they received intelligence that Mr. Buſſy had

taken poſſeſſion of Charmaul, and that the maintenance of this poſt againſt their enemies was the only probability of a reconciliation with them, reſolved to ſend the ſuccours, which Mr. Buſſy, foreſeeing the event, had long before requeſted, when he ſeparated from Salabadjing at Sanore. Accordingly, 500 Europeans and a train of field artillery were embarked on one of the French company's ſhip's called the Favorite. The ſhip ſailed on the 15th of July, the very day that the preſidency of Madraſs received the firſt intelligence of the diſtreſſes in Bengal: the troops were to be landed at Maſulipatam, from whence they were to march to Golcondah. 1756.

Hitherto the French influence in the government of Salabadjing had been regarded as the evil which threatened the moſt danger to the Engliſh concerns in India, and the removal of it had been the conſtant object of their attention; but it now became an immediate conſideration, what reſpect ought to be paid to this view, compared with the neceſſity of reinſtating the loſt affairs in Bengal.

Letters from England dated in the month of Auguſt of the preceding year had informed the preſidencies in India, that a war with France ſeemed inevitable, and that hoſtilities would in all probability commence very ſoon after the diſpatch of thoſe letters; which moreover gave intelligence that the French were preparing to ſend a fleet of 19 ſhips of war, with 3000 regular troops, from Breſt to Pondicherry. On this it had been determined to make many improvements and additions to the fortifications of Madraſs; but as no particular work was yet compleated, what was done had rather weakened than augmented the ſtrength of the place.

The troops maintained by the Engliſh and French governments on the coaſt of Coromandel were at this time nearly equal, each conſiſting of about 2000 Europeans, and 10,000 Sepoys, who on both ſides were ſeparated in different garriſons and ſituations in an extent of 600 miles. The detachment of 500 men ſent to Maſulipatam had diminiſhed the French force ſerving in the Carnatic, to be by this number, leſs than what the Engliſh had in the province, excluſive of their troops to the ſouth of the Coleroon; nor had the French as yet any ſquadron in India to oppoſe that under the command of Mr. Watſon;

1756. Watſon; but it was imagined that their expected armament would give them as deciſive a ſuperiority at ſea, as on ſhore.

On the other hand, a privation of the Bengal inveſtments for three years would ruin the Engliſh company; and if the ſettlements there were not immediately recovered, the French upon the arrival of their armament would urge and aſſiſt Surajah Dowlah againſt any future attempts of the Engliſh to re-eſtabliſh themſelves in his dominions; in which caſe, an expedition to recover them would require a large and ſpecial armament from England; where, perhaps, the national exigencies in other parts of the world might not allow a force adequate to this ſervice; and where, at all events, the equipment could not be made but at a much greater expence than would be incurred by employing the force at this time ready on the coaſt of Coromandel. At the ſame time the national honour required immediate reparation, and the horrors of the dungeon cried aloud for exemplary vengeance.

Neverthelefs there prevailed in ſome of the members of the council a ſtrong propenſity, at all events, to aſſiſt Salabadjing. The partizans of this opinion inſiſted, "that, as a force ſufficient to encounter the Nabob of Bengal with any probability of ſucceſs, ſubſtracted from Madraſs, would leave the Engliſh in Coromandel totally incapable of reſiſting the French after the arrival of their armament; it was more expedient to ſend the 50 gun ſhip of Mr. Watſon's ſquadron, and deputies, with a power to treat with the Nabob. If the negociation ſhould prove unſucceſsful, the ſhip, with the force under Major Kilpatrick, were to make depredations and repriſals; and, if they could, were to retake and maintain Calcutta. By this expedient, Coromandel, it was ſaid, would be preſerved, Salabadjing might be properly ſupported againſt Mr. Buſſy, and Mr. Watſon avoiding the encounter of the French ſquadron until his own ſhould be reinforced from England, might then meet them on equal terms." Theſe arguments would have appeared ſpecious any where but in India. They were oppoſed by one of the members of the council, who, having reſided nine years in the company's ſervice at Calcutta, knew the ſtrength and inſolence of the Mooriſh government in Bengal, believed that nothing but

vigorous hoſtilities would induce the Nabob to make peace or repara- 1756.
tion, and conſidered the force propoſed as unequal even to the retaking of Calcutta: he therefore inſiſted "that it ought to be ſufficient to at-
"tack the Nabob even in his capital of Muxadavad; at leaſt, a
"battalion of 800 Europeans, with as many Sepoys as could be
"tranſported, not leſs than 1500: that as the ſquadron, if divided,
"would be of little ſervice any where, the whole ſhould proceed
"to Bengal; that ſuch an armament would ſoon decide the con-
"teſt; that after peace was made, the ſquadron, with a large part
"of the troops, might return to the coaſt, and arrive in the month
"of April; before which time, the nature of the Monſoons ren-
"dered it improbable that the French armament, ſince it had not
"yet appeared, would be able to make their paſſage to the coaſt.
"In the mean time the detachment ſent to the relief of Mr.
"Buſſy had deprived the government of Pondicherry of the
"means of making any attempts in the Carnatic, which the
"force of Madraſs could not eaſily fruſtrate." This opinion, after many and repeated objections, became at laſt the unanimous ſenſe of the council.

This reſolution was communicated to Admiral Watſon, who, after conſulting his council of war, conſented to it. Some difficulties aroſe about the diſpoſition of the captures which might be made by the ſquadron; but this was ſoon adjuſted by an agreement, that whatſoever property ſhould be taken which had belonged either to the company, or to Engliſh individuals, or even to natives, who were tenants of the company when the Nabob commenced hoſtilities, ſhould be reſtored without diminution to the proprietors; but that whatſoever ſhould be taken which had never belonged either to the company, or to ſuch as were under their protection, ſhould become without participation or reſerve the property of the ſquadron.

But other points of equal moment to the ſucceſs of the expedition ſtill remained to be decided; and, indeed, by having been mingled without diſtinction with the more general queſtions, they had helped not a little to perplex and protract the deliberations of the council. Theſe points were: Who ſhould command the land forces? What ſhould

1756. ſhould be the extent of his authority in military operations, and in negotiations with the Nabob? In what dependance or relation he ought to ſtand to the late governor and council of Calcutta? How far their authority as a preſidency ought to be maintained or impaired?

Each of the remaining council of Bengal had written ſeparate letters to the preſidency of Madraſs, in which ſuch miſdemeanours and miſconduct were reciprocally imputed to all the others, that, if no allowance had been made for the prejudices of exaſperated adverſity, it would have been abſurd to intruſt the re-eſtabliſhment of the company's affairs to thoſe, who, by their own accounts, had ruined them; and, indeed, enough of the cauſes and progreſs of the calamities in Bengal were not at this time ſufficiently developed, to exempt the late preſidency of Calcutta from much blame. The difficulty of deciding concerning their authority ſuggeſted to Mr. Pigot, the Governor of Madraſs, a deſire to go himſelf to Bengal as commander of the army, and with full powers, as the company's repreſentative in all other affairs: but he wanted military experience, nor had the council authority to give ſo extenſive a commiſſion to any individual. Colonel Adlercron then claimed the military command, offering to go with his whole regiment; but he wanted experience in the irregular warfare of India, and his powers were independent of the company's agents. The climate of Bengal was ſo adverſe to an aſthmatic diſorder, with which Colonel Lawrence was afflicted, that it was thought he would be diſabled, from that inceſſant activity requiſite to the ſucceſs of this expedition, of which the termination was limited to a certain time. Colonel Clive was therefore choſen to command the troops. To aſſure the exertion of the moſt vigorous hoſtilities until peace was made, and then the return of the troops in April, it was reſolved to inveſt him with independent power in all military matters and operations, and in conſequence to furniſh him with money, and empower him to draw bills. It was, however, reſolved to acknowledge Mr. Drake and the former members of the council, as a preſidency, with full powers in commercial and civil affairs, and to remit them likewiſe

a large

a large ſum of money. Mr. Manningham, who had been ſent from Fulta as their repreſentative, objected ſtrongly to the powers given to Clive, as derogating from the authority of that preſidency, and contrary to the inſtitutions of the company. Two months paſſed in debates, before theſe final reſolutions were taken, and then the embarkation began. The ſloop of war belonging to the ſquadron had been diſpatched ſome time before, to inform the Engliſh at Fulta of the intended armament, and to exhort them not to quit the river in deſpair of aſſiſtance. 1756.

The ſquadron conſiſted of the Kent of 64, Cumberland of 70, Tyger of 60, Saliſbury of 50, Bridgwater of 20 guns, and a fire-ſhip; to which were added, as tranſports, three of the company's ſhips, and two ſmaller veſſels. On board of this fleet were embarked 900 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys; 250 of the Europeans were of Adlercron's regiment; the reſt, the beſt men of the company's troops. It was reſolved to ſend more Sepoys as conveyances ſhould offer. Admiral Watſon hoiſted his flag in the Kent; and Admiral Pocock in the Cumberland. Colonel Clive embarked in the Kent; he carried letters written by Salabadjing the Soubah of the Decan, and Mahomedally Nabob of Arcot, as well as from Mr. Pigot, exhorting Surajah Dowlah, to make immediate reparation for the injuries, and calamities which the Engliſh had ſuffered from his unprovoked reſentment. The inſtructions to Clive recommended the attack of Muxadavad itſelf, if the Nabob continued obſtinate; and the capture of the French ſettlement at Chandernagore, if the news of a war with France ſhould arrive whilſt the troops remained in Bengal. The fleet ſet ſail on the 16th of October, and were out of ſight the next day.

This effort to recover the ſettlements in Bengal left the forces of Madraſs too much diminiſhed to detach to ſuch a diſtance as Golcondah a body of troops ſufficient to aſſiſt Salabadjing effectually againſt the French army with Mr. Buſſy; and as a few would be of no ſervice, and might be loſt, it was reſolved to ſend none. In the mean time the French army were maintaining their ground in Charmaul.

1756. On the ſame evening that they took poſſeſſion of this poſt, detachments were ſtationed in two others; the one was a large habitation called *Gauchmaul*, ſtanding in a ſpacious and walled encloſure, almoſt oppoſite to Charmaul, about 400 yards on the other ſide of the river Mouſſi; in this poſt were lodged 300 Sepoys. The other was an edifice called *Daudmul*, built on a riſing ground very near the weſtern ſide of Charmaul, which it overlooked. It was an ancient and very ſingular ſtructure, conſiſting of two ſtories of arched maſonry, each ſtory diſpoſed in ſeveral ranges of arches, and the upper covered by a terraſs ſtrong enough to endure the ſervice of cannon. Four twelve pounders were mounted on this terraſs, and the adjoining ſtreets and avenues were barricaded: the guard here, beſides the artillery men, was 500 Sepoys, with ſeveral European officers of experience.

On the 6th of July, the day after the army entered Charmaul, 1000 Sepoys, with all the European cavalry and ſix field pieces, went out in the evening with intention to beat up the Morratoes in their camp, which continued in its firſt ſituation, about ſeven miles to the weſt; but they had taken the alarm, and abandoned the camp before the detachment arrived. The next night another detachment with more ſucceſs beat up one of their parties in a garden on the eaſtern ſide of the town. The French troops now took poſſeſſion of all the magazines in the city which belonged to the government, and likewiſe carried away all the cannon which were mounted on the walls, not that they wanted artillery, but in order to withdraw them from the enemy. The interval between the ranges of building and the tank in Charmaul was planted with rows of palmira and coco-nut trees; which were now cut down, and with them and other materials, ſcaffolds were erected againſt various parts of the walls, to ſerve as ſtations for muſketry.

On the 8th, another detachment with ſix field-pieces marched out in open day, and cannonaded the whole body of Morratoes, which hovered around for ſome time, until ſome of their horſes were killed. In the evening, the Morratoes quitted their former ground, and encamped

camped within three miles of the city under the rock and fortreſs of Golcondah, probably with an idea of protection from the guns of the fortreſs; but Candagla, one of their generals, who commanded 2000 horſe, encamped with them at the bank of the river about half way between Golcondah and the city, where they were the next night beaten up by a detachment of 500 Sepoys with the huſſars. They fled, leaving many of their horſes picqueted in the camp, and even the military drums and cymbals of their commander: but the French detachment did not loſe a man. 1756.

The rainy weather prevented any more ſallies for ſeveral days: mean while the numbers of the enemy increaſed greatly. The Phouſdars, or, as they are commonly called, the Nabobs of Kanoul and Condanore, came each with 3000 Pitans well mounted: other chiefs of the ſame rank, and others of inferior, as well Mahomedan as Indian, brought their troops: for every tributary and dependant in the vaſt viceroyalty of the Decan had been ſummoned. But ſeveral of theſe chiefs, eſpecially Kanoul, privately aſſured Mr. Buſſy they did not intend to act effectually againſt him.

On the 10th arrived Jaffier Ally Khan, much exaſperated at the death of his nephew, with 3000 horſe, 3000 foot, and the firſt diviſion of artillery, conſiſting of 20 pieces of cannon. The main body of the army with which Salabadjing and Shanavaz Khan remained, moving only four miles a day, was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance. Jaffier Ally immediately held a council of war, in which it was reſolved to ſtreighten the blockade of Charmaul, and to begin by taking poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous poſts in the city itſelf.

Mr. Buſſy received immediate intelligence of this council; he had hitherto refrained from diſtreſſing the inhabitants; but now, in order to deter the enemy from eſtabliſhing themſelves in the city, he poſted a detachment at an edifice ſtanding in the high ſtreet, and called *Charminarets*, or the four towers; it was a ſquare piazza of arches, having at each end a tower 60 feet high, with balconies at the top, from which the Mahomedan prieſt calls the people to

1756. prayers; ſome miſchief might be done with muſketry from theſe balconies, and the loop-holes, which gave light to the winding ſtairs; but there were no means of employing artillery in the tops, for they were vaulted; nor within, for there were neither floors or landing-places; nevertheleſs ſeveral ſmall pieces of cannon were pointed out of the loop-holes, from a conviction that the enemy would not immediately diſcern their inutility. Mr. Buſſy then informed Jaffier Ally, that if any of his troops entered the city, he would deſtroy the whole with fire; and this menace ſtopped his intention; he however ſtationed an advanced detachment where Candagla had encamped, which was beaten up and diſperſed the next night by a party of 50 Europeas and 500 Sepoys. The rains immediately after, falling again heavier, and laſting longer than before, hindered all enterprizes in the field for a fortnight.

Some months before Mr. Buſſy had commiſſioned the French agents at Surat to levy a body either of Abyſſinians or Arabs, whom, as being of more courage and endurance, he intended to diſcipline as the choiceſt of his Sepoys. Six hundred had been collected, and were on their march, when Mr. Buſſy arrived at Hydrabad, and the enemy hearing of their approach detached Janogee Nimbulcar with his 3000 Morratoes to intercept them. The Morratoes met them on the road ſome miles on this ſide of Aurungabad, and harraſſed them continually for three days; during which they killed fifty; one hundred and fifty diſperſed, and the remaining four hundred, worn out with fatigue, ſurrendered: Janogee returned with his priſoners to the camp, and confined them in the fortreſs of Golcondah, but treated them well.

The weather having cleared on the 26th, a detachment with three field-pieces marched in the evening, and at midnight attacked that part of the enemy's camp, where they kept their artillery; the multitude of bullocks in this quarter, ſcared by the firing, encreaſed the confuſion of the troops: the fort of Golcondah took the alarm and fired all its cannon at random; but two of the French field-pieces breaking down, ſtopped the detachment from purſuing their ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, and they returned, having ſpiked up only three of the guns in the enemy's camp. 1756.

The next day came up 4000 Sepoys under the command of Murzafabeg. This man commanded the Sepoys of the detachment with which Mr. Buſſy firſt marched into the Decan in 1751. The next year he left Mr. Buſſy when at Beder, and, raiſing a body of Sepoys on his own account, took ſervice with Balagerow, whom he left when before Seringapatam in 1755, and went over to the Myſoreans; from thence he went to the Nabob of Sanore, and was in this place when inveſted in the beginning of the preſent year by Salabadjing and Balagerow. Having during his command of the French Sepoys gained the attachment of moſt of their officers by largeſſes and other compliances, he had ever ſince continued a correſpondence amongſt them, whenever they were in the field, in conjunction with, or near, the armies in which he was ſerving, as Mr. Buſſy had experienced in the campaigns of Myſore and Sanore. This quality, and the military experience which he was ſuppoſed to have acquired whilſt in the French ſervice, induced Shanavaze Khan to hire him, as ſoon as it was known that Mr. Buſſy had determined to make a ſtand at Hydrabad. Murzafabeg, as ſoon as engaged, made forced marches before the main body, and ſent his emiſſaries forward: and on the very day of his arrival at Hydrabad, a whole company of French Sepoys, who went out into the plain under pretence of exerciſing, marched away, their firelocks ſhouldered, and joined him at Golcondah.

The next day the whole army moved from hence with twenty pieces of cannon under his direction, and at noon appeared to the weſtward within a mile of Charmaul. The infantry and artillery took poſſeſſion of all the eminences; and the cavalry drew up in the intervals, where the ground was plain. Immediately 250 of the French battalion and 1000 Sepoys, with ſix field-pieces, marched out to try them, whilſt the reſt remained in their poſts ready to act as occaſion ſhould require; and two pieces of cannon were mounted on the tower in the N. W. angle of Charmaul, which commanded a view of the field. The detachment deſpiſed the enemy ſo much, that they

1756. they ventured to ſeparate into three diviſions, and each with two of the field-pieces advanced againſt different bodies of infantry, at a conſiderable diſtance from each other. The cavalry every where flung themſelves between, and continually ſurrounded the three diviſions, whoſe deſtruction to a ſtranger would have ſeemed inevitable; and indeed nothing but the firm reliance on the general diſcipline could have warranted the hazard, or have ſurmounted the danger; but with this advantage and the dexterity of the field-pieces, each diviſion either ſufficed to its own defence, or, when preſſed, received aſſiſtance from one of the others. In the different evolutions the enemy's cavalry were often within reach of the two guns at Charmaul, of which even the random ſhot did execution, whilſt the enemy's cannon were fired, although continually, with very little effect. Their infantry did nothing but ſhift from ſafe ground to ſafer, and fire with fear. In this variety of fights the engagement laſted five hours, and did not ceaſe until the ſun was ſet; the French troops fired 35000 muſket cartridges, and 900 from their field-pieces; 125 of the enemy's horſes were counted dead on the plain; by which the total of their loſs muſt have been conſiderable. That of the French was ſlight; ſix Sepoys killed, and thirty wounded: of the Europeans none killed, and only four wounded.

Two days after, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, came up Salabadjing himſelf, and the main body of the army. A council was immediately held, in which Murzafar Khan propoſed a general aſſault on Charmaul. This deliberation was in a few hours communicated to Mr. Buſſy, who immediately demoliſhed ſeveral of the adjacent houſes; but the attack was not made. The intrigues of Murzafar Khan had already pervaded the whole body of Sepoys, and the greateſt part of them had promiſed him to deſert with their arms, the firſt time they ſhould be led into the field: their correſpondence was diſcovered; and determined Mr. Buſſy to make no more ſallies.

By this time reinforcements were approaching. Mr. Moracin, the French chief of Maſulipatam, on the firſt advices of the rupture at Sanore, had collected 160 Europeans and 700 Sepoys, which, with five field pieces, marched in the middle of July, under the command

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of Mr. Law, the ſame officer who capitulated at Seringham in 1752; 1756.
but when arrived at Bezoara, about 40 miles inland, exceſſive rains detained them here ſeveral days. In the interval the Favorite arrived at Maſulipatam with the troops from Pondicherry, of which, all in condition, marched immediately; but were ſo much retarded by the rains, and the inundations of the Kriſtna, that they did not arrive at Bezoara until the 3d of Auguſt, when the whole, now 480 Europeans, 1100 ſepoys, and 11 field-pieces, proceeded, and arrived on the 10th within fifteen leagues of Hydrabad.

The miniſtry of Salabadjing determined to intercept this reinforcement: all the Morratoes, 12000, other ſmaller bodies amounting to 4000, in all 16000 cavalry, with infantry of various denominations and commands, to the number of 10,000, were ordered on this ſervice. Mr. Buſſy, as uſual, received information what troops were appointed; he was perſonally acquainted with all the commanders, had been of uſe to ſeveral of them, and had lately received ſome marks of good-will from Janogi and Ramchundur, who commanded 6000 of the Morratoes. He therefore propoſed a conference, which was accepted by ſeveral of theſe chiefs, who repaired in the night to a tent pitched on the other ſide of the river near Gauchmaul, where he met them unattended and alone. Wanting poſitive knowledge of what paſſed in this interview, we conjecture that he wrought upon them by promiſes of greater advantages, if he ſhould be reſtored to his former influence in the government of Salabadjing, than they could expect, either from the gratitude of Shanavaze Khan, or the friendſhip of the Engliſh, who, it was believed, were to take the place of the French, in the army and councils of the Decan. They promiſed not to act againſt the reinforcement with any efficacy, and only as much as might be neceſſary to ſave appearances, confirmed theſe aſſurances by their oaths, and gave Mr. Buſſy the diſtinctions and colours of their reſpective banners, of which he immediately diſpatched information to Mr. Law, as enſigns from which he would have nothing to fear.

The reinforcement continued their march on the 11th, and had now to paſs a tract of mountainous country covered with rocks and thick-

1756. thick woods, which they entered, marching in a file of four abreaſt. The advanced guard were 400 ſepoys, under the command of an officer named Mahmood Khan. After marching five hours, in which they had only advanced nine miles, ſome parties of the enemy were deſcried forward in the road; on which Mahmood Khan, as if impatient to attack them, quickened the pace of the Sepoys. The captain of the grenadiers, whoſe company followed next in the line, ſent orders to him to halt, which he diſregarded; and as ſoon as the Sepoys were out of ſight, ſome irregular firing was heard: ſoon after came a meſſenger, requeſting the grenadiers would advance to their aſſiſtance, who he ſaid were ſurrounded by the enemy; but the captain having ſuſpicions ſent forward ſcouts, who diſcovered the banners of the Sepoys mixing quietly with thoſe of the enemy. This treachery was effected by the intrigues of Murzafar Khan, who was here in perſon, and immediately began to attack the French line with theſe very Sepoys, and the whole of the infantry of Salabadjing's army ſent on this ſervice, which was committed to his direction. Beſides the uſual and lighter arms a part of the infantry weilded 2000 *caytocks*, a fire-arm frequently made uſe of in Europe in the early times of gun-powder, and then called a wall-piece; but at preſent rarely uſed, excepting in Indoſtan and the eaſtermoſt parts of Aſia: it is a gun eight or ten feet in the barrel, carrying a ball of one, two, or three ounces; and under the middle of the barrel is fixed by a ſwivel, either one iron ſpike, or two, which open croſsways, and being ſtuck in the ground ſupport the piece, and aſſure its aim: it carries far point blank, but the larger ſizes are ſo unweildy, that two men are required to move and manage them, and they can ſcarcely be fired quicker than a piece of cannon. Parties were continually detached to diſlodge theſe caytocks, and whatſoever other troops were annoying the line from the rocks and thickets on either hand. At noon the line came to open ground, where they halted; and the fall of a heavy ſhower of rain damaged the enemy's powder, and put an end to their attacks.

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They retired to a hill half a league diſtant, and took poſſeſſion of a village at the foot of it, called Gorampally, which the French troops marched before day-break to attack, and found all the enemy's cavalry in the field, by whom they were ſoon ſurrounded. Ramchunder and Janogee, according to their promiſes, acted only in ſhew, which Mr. Law admired, and could not account for, not having yet received the information concerning them frm Mr. Buſſy; but Candagla, who had rejected his proffers, acted more efficaciouſly, attacking the baggage in the rear, and diſperſed the whole train of oxen on which it was laden. The troops in the village made little reſiſtance, and the reinforcement reſted there during the remainder of the day. Hitherto only one European and three or four Sepoys had been killed, and twelve of both wounded, but by the flight of the coolies and the ſcaring of the oxen all their proviſions were loſt, and the troops were obliged for their meal to kill ſome of the draught-bullocks of the artillery. 1756.

At noon Mr. Law received the letter from Mr. Buſſy, with information of ſuch of the enemy's banners as did not intend to act vigorouſly, and at ſeven in the evening renewed his march. The next ſtage was Meliapore, 15 miles from Gorampally, and the whole way through difficult defiles. The enemy with unuſual alertneſs, although it was night, ſent forward all their infantry to line the thickets; and Mr. Law, as the uſe of the field-pieces greatly retarded the march, only oppoſed the enemy with platoons, which were detached to whereſoever the fire came from. At ſeven in the morning the line arrived at Meliapore, and took poſt in a ruined mud fort near the town. Only two men had been killed, and three wounded; but all were exhauſted with fatigue, and every carriage wanted repair; and the next march was more difficult than any of the former. It was therefore reſolved to remain at Meliapore until the men were entirely recovered; but this repoſe led them into reflections, always dangerous when troops are in dangerous circumſtances: and very ſoon the whole body were perſuaded that they had done all that was poſſible, and that it now behoved the army of Charmoul to act likewiſe, and march to their relief. The officers,

1756. inſtead of repreſſing, caught, the deſpondency, and prevailed on Mr. Law to diſpatch a letter to Mr. Buſſy, expreſſing their doubts and anxiety concerning the farther progreſs of the reinforcement.

In the mean time the news of Mahmood Cawn's defection had been ſpread with exaggeration through the main camp at Golcondah, and encouraged the miniſtry to ſend more troops againſt the reinforcement. Mr. Buſſy, to repreſs this intention, ſent in the night of the 12th a ſtrong party, conſiſting entirely of Europeans, to beat up the advanced guards of the camp, and the attack was made with much ſucceſs; but on the ſame night he received the letter from Mr. Law, which encreaſed his perplexity; becauſe he could not truſt his Sepoys in the field where their ſeducer Murzafacawn acted, nor could he without equal imprudence ſend a number of Europeans ſufficient to make their way to Meliapore. Judging, however, from his own experience in various conjunctures, he deemed the reinforcement ſtrong enough to accompliſh the remaining, as they had the preceding part of the march, provided the officers led them with intrepidity; and in this conviction he wrote to Mr. Law, commanding him, in *the name of the King*, to march immediately, and at all events, on the receipt of the letter. Not doubting, likewiſe, that the miniſtry of Salabadjing, if they ſhould hear of the deſpondency of the reinforcement, would make an utmoſt effort in this time of deciſion, unleſs deterred by the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions, he the next day pitched his own tent, which was very conſpicuous, and encamped with 150 Europeans and 300 ſepoys, on the ſtrand above the bridge on the other ſide of the river Mouſſi. The numbers were ſtudiouſly magnified, and, with the preſence of Mr. Buſſy in the field, inſpired ſuch a variety of apprehenſions concerning his deſigns in the camp at at Golcondah, that they even recalled the detachments they had ſent the day before.

The peremptory order from Mr. Buſſy at Meliapore arrived in the morning of the 14th, and Mr. Law immediately iſſued orders to march. The reinforcement, although they had remained four days and three nights at Meliapore, had not got the reſt they wanted; for the fort was in ſeveral parts open, and the enemy had har-

raſſed them continually with ſkirmiſhes, even by night as well as day. At nine at night they began their march, the preparations for which had been perceived, and gave the enemy time to make their own. The road for the firſt four miles winded through defiles in the rugged rock, over which carriages could not paſs without attention to every turn of the wheel. The enemy in ſeveral places felled the wood acroſs the road, and all their infantry were in poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous ſtations before the French troops entered the defiles; and their fire, eſpecially from the caytocks, was much better directed than againſt the former marches. Men began to fall in the firſt diſcharges; no general rules of action could be obſerved; to get onward was the only principle; it was now become fortunate for the French line that they had no baggage, and nothing to defend but themſelves and their artillery; which, although a great encumbrance in the defiles, was to be their beſt reſource when out of them. A large body of the enemy's cavalry, led by Candagla the Morattoe, followed the line into the defile, and through the night endeavoured to retard the march by their din and clamours, but as ſoon as it was light, acted with more efficacy: for, as many as the road permitted charged the rear, although the guard conſiſted entirely of Europeans, and had two field-pieces: it was commanded by D'Arambure, an officer of proved gallantry, and next in rank to Mr. Law. Still repulſed, the cavalry ſtill renewed their onſets. Europeans were cut down, and Morattoes ſhot at the very muzzles of the guns. At ſun-riſe the van of the line came to the iſſue of the defile, againſt which the enemy had planted all their cannon, 20 pieces; behind which appeared all the cavalry which had not followed in the rear: but they ſeemed to rely on the artillery more than on themſelves, which was ſo ill ſerved, that it neither interrupted the troops in iſſuing out of the defile, nor afterwards from forming in the opening; when the field-pieces, as they came out, were turned to ſcour the thickets behind, and ſoon drove away what parties of the enemy were ſtill moleſting the remaining part of the line. Whilſt the troops were forming, the enemy's cavalry and cannon in the front haſtened onward, to paſs a ſmall river called 1756.

1756. Cingoram, about a mile from the thickets, and drew up on the other ſide. The cavalry, with Candagla, followed the French troops as they marched towards the river; the approach to which on both ſides was a deſcent. All the field-pieces were ordered to remain on the hither-bank, until the reſt of the troops had paſſed; and this ſervice was likewiſe committed to D'Arambure, who judiciouſly divided their fire againſt the enemy on the other ſide, and thoſe in his rear, which kept both at a diſtance, until the whole of rank and file had croſſed and formed, and were able to defend themſelves againſt the enemy on that ſide; when the cannon were ſent over one by one, during which the remaining continued to awe the enemy on the ſide they ſtood, againſt whom every piece, as ſoon as it landed on the other ſide, was likewiſe pointed; and parties of the battalion likewiſe waded into the ſtream ready to reſcue the laſt pieces. But the cavalry had already ſuffered too much at a diſtance, to venture this nearer riſque, and all the loſs which the French line ſuſtained, after leaving the thickets until they had paſſed the river, was by the caytocks and other fire-arms of the enemy, ſheltered wherever they found ſafe cover. The country forward from the river, although not plain, was open, and the French troops were animated with new alacrity by the view of the ſpires of Hyderabad, which now appeared in ſight. The whole of the enemy's cavalry moved on as they, and ſurrounded them on all ſides, but made no effectual attacks; for thoſe who were willing, were diſpirited by the backwardneſs of the great body of Morattoes commanded by Rumchunder and Janogee Nimbulcar, who acted faintly according to their engagements with Mr. Buſſy. At length, at five in the afternoon, the reinforcement arrived at the town of Aydnagur, ſituated ſix miles from the river Cingoram, and the ſame diſtance from Hyderabad. They had been 18 hours without reſpite in march and action; during which 25 Europeans, of whom two were officers, were killed, and 65 wounded. The Sepoys ſuffered more. The enemy, it was ſaid, loſt 800 horſes and more than 2000 men: the French fired 40,000 muſket-cartridges, beſides their field-pieces.

At Aydnagur they found ſome ſcanty proviſions, of which they were in much need: at nine in the evening, Mr. Buſſy received intelligence of their arrival, and immediately detached 140 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, with carriages, to bring the ſick and wounded, and 20 mules, laden with proviſions ready dreſſed. He at the ſame time detached another party, to give alarm to the camp at Golcondah, in order to prevent them from ſending any troops to interrupt the march of thoſe proceeding to Aydnagur, who arrived there at four in the morning without moleſtation. At ſix all were in march again from Aydnagur, and at ten arrived at the city of Hyderabad, having met with no interruption, nor even ſeen any of the enemy in the way; for they had all been recalled during the night to the camp at Golcondah. Mr. Buſſy received the reinforcement with the acknowledgements due to their perſeverance and valour; and they were ſcarcely arrived, before he received a meſſenger ſent on a dromedary by Salabadjing with propoſals of peace, and aſſurances that he had ordered all hoſtilities to ceaſe. Mr. Buſſy anſwered, that he was not averſe to a reconciliation, but that his reinforcement was arrived, and he feared nothing the Soubah's army could do. 1756.

The negociation nevertheleſs continued. Mr. Buſſy demanded, that Murzafar Khan and the late deſerter Mahmood Khan ſhould be delivered up to him. Salabadjing replied, that as a prince he could not, without loſing the confidence of the whole world, ſurrender any perſons whom he had received into his ſervice and pay, but that he ſhould not impede any means that might be employed to make them priſoners. The conjuncture did not admit of any ſtipulation for the removal of the miniſter Shanavaze Khan. Jaffier Ally Khan, the old Nabob of Rajahmundrum, came and made his ſubmiſſions to Mr. Buſſy, blaming himſelf much for having taken part with men, whoſe views and underſtandings, he ſaid, he had now every reaſon to deſpiſe. Janogee Nimbulcar delivered the Arabs and Abyſſins he had confined in the fortreſs of Golcondah, but kept their arms. Every thing being ſettled, Mahomed Huſſein, the king's Decan, accompanied by the principal lords of the court,

1756. court, viſited Mr. Buſſy in his tent on the 20th, and the ſame day Mr. Buſſy proceeded, with an eſcort of 300 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, to pay his reſpects to Salabadjing, who received him with the diſtinctions of an officer in the Mogul government, ſecond only to himſelf. The interview was courteous, and the proteſtations ſolemn. No hints were given of the late diſagreements, and future meaſures were concerted with much ſeeming confidence. New patents were immediately prepared, and letters diſpatched through all the governments of the Decan, to deſtroy the impreſſions which had been made by thoſe written during the rupture.

Thus ended this diſtreſs; the greateſt in which Mr. Buſſy had been involved ſince his command in the Decan. Nor would his perſeverance and reſolution alone have ſufficed, without the ſagacity of his character, and the influence of his reputation.

Beſides the proviſions which were laid in ſtore, the army at Charmaul was conſtantly ſupplied with cattle for the ſhambles, and forage for the horſes, oxen, camels, and elephants, by bands of a people called Lamballis, peculiar to the Decan, who are continually moving up and down the country with their flocks, and contract to furniſh the armies in the field. The union amongſt all theſe bands renders each reſpectable even to the enemy of the army they are ſupplying; but they are not permitted to deal with places beſieged; nevertheleſs Mr. Buſſy ſurmounted this objection, by bribing the Morratoes, who, for the ſake of marauding, undertook the patroles of Salabadjing's army, to let the Lamballis paſs in the night, and it was eſpecially concerted, that the convoys ſhould come in on the nights when the French troops made ſallies on the enemy's quarters.

But money was equally neceſſary, and the want of it had well nigh reduced him to quit Charmaul; for he had exhauſted the public, his own, and all he could borrow on his own credit, and had no means of raiſing more, excepting by giving reſcripts on the revenues of the four ceded provinces; but moſt of the renters and polygars of thoſe countries were, in the preſent conjuncture, encouraged to withhold them by the letters which they received from the miniſtry of Salabadjing, and ſtill more by the practices of Ibrahim Cawn,

Cawn, the governor of Chicacole, who, although raiſed by Mr. Buſſy to this poſt, from the command of a company of Sepoys, diſavowed the French authority, and declared himſelf only ſubject to Salabadjing, as ſoon as he heard that the French army had ſtopped at Hyderabad; on the news of which, the bankers, who had hitherto ſupplied Mr. Buſſy, agreed that it was not ſafe to advance money on theſe reſcripts, nor on any other ſecurity which he might offer: but Vizeramrauze, the Rajah of Vizianagur in Chicacole, judging with more ſagacity than Ibrahim Ally, ordered his agents at Golcondah to aſſure Mr. Buſſy of his fidelity and the regular payment of his tributes; and one night, when little expected, and moſt wanted, a man came to Charmaul, and, being permitted to ſpeak in private with Mr. Buſſy, delivered with the meſſage of Vizeramrauze a ſum of gold, as much as he could carry concealed under his garments. It was ſufficient for the preſent want, and the ſame man afterwards furniſhed more as neceſſary. 1756.

On the day of the reconciliation, Murzafer Khan and the deſerter Mahmood Khan moved, and encamping with their Sepoys in a ſtrong ſituation at ſome diſtance from Golcondah, where they relied on the aſſurances of protection which they had received from the wife of Salabadjing, who held the firſt rank in his ſeraglio. Mr. Buſſy nevertheleſs ſent out parties on ſeveral nights to ſurprize them, and Mahmood Khan was taken; but from conſideration of his former ſervices, and the good-will borne to him by the French Sepoys in general, his life was ſpared. Murzafer Khan maintained his ground ſome weeks longer, until his Sepoys began to mutiny for want of pay, when ſome of them proffered Mr. Buſſy to deliver him up, who ſent a party to receive him; but a little while before the party arrived, he eſcaped with a few attendants, and went to Poni, where he entered again into the ſervice of Balagerow, by whom he was ſome time after put to death, for a conſpiracy.

No other military operations happened during the reſt of the year at Golcondah. Shanavaze Khan continued to manage the affairs of the government as duan; and Mr. Buſſy interfered little in his

1756. his purpoſes, having taken the reſolution to proceed, with the greateſt part of the troops under his immediate command, to repreſs the inſurrections, and regulate the government, in the ceded provinces. On the 16th of November, he began his march, with 500 Europeans and 4000 Sepoys, leaving 100 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys with Salabadjing at Golcondah, who towards the end of the year prepared to proceed to Aurengabad.

The armament to Bengal had not only deprived the preſidency of Madraſs of the means of diſtreſſing the French affairs in the Decan, but left them without the power of making any military efforts in the province of Arcot. No preſſing occaſions had required the ſervice of their forces in the field in this part of the dominions of their ally, the Nabob Mohamed Ally; but the confuſions which had induced the preſidency to ſend Mohamed Iſſoof into the MADURA and TINIVELLY countries had not ſubſided, when his miſſion itſelf produced new diſturbances.

This officer with Maphuze Khan, and their reſpective troops, remained at Chevelpetore during the months of June and July, and all the adjoining Polygars had either made their ſubmiſſions, or ſeemed willing to be quiet. He then requeſted Maphuze Khan to march out of the country, and proceed with his troops to Arcot, according to the injunctions of his brother the Nabob, who would be ready to ſettle accounts with him, and pay what arrears might be due to his ſoldiery. Maphuze Khan acquieſced without objection, and Mahomed Iſſoof ſent with his camp the 18 pounder he had brought from Tritchinopoly, that it might be depoſited in Madura, becauſe it encumbered his march up and down the country; and a company of Sepoys went to take care of the 18 pounder on the road. He then allotted ſix companies to garriſon Chevelpetore, and guard the adjacent country; and with the reſt, about 2000, in which were included thoſe levied by the Nabob and ſent to Maphuze Khan, he proceeded from Chevelpetore on the 1ſt of Auguſt, and on the 10th arrived at the town of Tinivelly.

By this time the preſidency of Madraſs had made arrangements for the management of theſe countries, and concluded an agreement with Moodilee,

PROVINCE of TINNEVELLY
MADURA
Travancore Country
Little Mahratta
Great Mahratta
COROMANDEL
MADURA and TINNEVELLY from Maps
EAST-INDIA COMPANY
PART of the ISLAND CEYLON

The COUNTRIES of
COROMANDEL
from the COLEROON to CAPE COMORIN.
MADURA and TINIVELLY from MAPS
compiled for the
EAST-INDIA COMPANY
by John Call Esq. chief Engineer.
TONDIMANS COUNTRY
LITTLE MARAWAR
NELLY COTTAMAN
GREAT
MARAWAR
PROVINCE of MADURA
PROVINCE of TINIVELLY
PART of the ISLAND CEYLON
CAPE COMORIN
TANJORE
NEGAPATNAM
MANAR I.

Moodilee, the native of Tinivelly, who came to Madraſs on this purpoſe in the month of April. The ſouthern and more fertile diſtricts, which in former times belonged to the kingdom of Madura, had by various alterations and appropriations been annexed to the government, and intermingled with the rent-rolls, of Tinivelly; and the greater Moravar, during the confuſions which prevailed ſince the year 1750, had made encroachments on the weſt: ſo that what remained at this time under the ancient denomination of Madura, and under the immediate juriſdiction of the city, did not extend in any direction above 40 miles, and, in moſt, much leſs; which, being commanded on the weſt and north by mountains and Polygars, and bound on the eaſt by the woods of Moravar, was in every part expoſed to depredations from the wild inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The land of the territory is likewiſe in many parts incumbered with plots of rock, and, where free, the ſoil, except in a few diſtricts to the ſouth, is of laborious and expenſive cultivation. From theſe detriments and defects, the annual revenue of the whole territory ſeldom exceeds 120,000 rupees; at the ſame time that the maintenance of the city, its garriſon, and other military poſts in the country, raiſe the expences to triple this ſum. On the other hand, the country now rated under Tinivelly is of much greater extent and fertility, commonly yielding a revenue from 11 to 1,200,000 rupees a year; but ſhould Madura and its diſtricts be in the hands of an enemy, the country of Tinivelly would be conſtantly expoſed to the moſt ruinous attacks, and could receive no ſupport from Tritchinopoly; which renders it neceſſary to maintain the one at a certain loſs, as the only means of ſecuring the advantages which may be derived from the other. The family of Moodilee, having for 100 years been employed in farming diſtricts in both countries, had, in this long courſe of time, rented every part, and knew the properties of each. He accordingly refuſed to undertake the diſtricts of Madura, but offered to rent the country of Tinivelly for three years, at the annual rent of 1,100,000 rupees, clear of all expences, to be paid at three periods in each year: for which purpoſe he was to be inveſted with the uſual authorities of juriſdictions, 1756.

1756. civil and criminal: he obliged himſelf to maintain not leſs than 1000 of the company's Sepoys, under the command of ſuch officers as the preſidency ſhould appoint; and engaged to produce, within three months from the contract, the ſecurity of ſubſtantial *ſhroffs*, or money-changers, for the regular payment of the ſtipulated ſums. The agreement was concluded in the beginning of July; immediately on which Moodilee appointed agents, and ſent orders to place flags with the company's colours, in the cultivated lands; and ſoon after proceeded himſelf to adminiſter his office in perſon.

Mahomed Iſſoof, on his arrival at Tinivelly, found that the agents of Moodilee had, in the beginning of their occupations, been overruled and inſulted by Meir Jaffier, who had hitherto managed the country for Maphuze Cawn. The diſpute indeed had ceaſed, but the grudge ſtill remained: and to prevent any farther effects, Mahomed Iſſoof ordered Meir Jaffier to depart immediately to Madura, but permitted him to take three field-pieces which belonged to him, and whatſoever retinue he choſe: he at the ſame time detached five companies of Sepoys to reinforce the garriſon of Madura, and ordered them to protect and watch Meir Jaffier and his people on the road. They had not proceeded two days, when unexpected intelligence ſtopped their march.

On the arrival of Maphuze Cawn from Chevelpetore, all the cavalry in his ſervice were aſſembled in the city of Madura; their number was 2000, all of good quality, for he had diſbanded the leſs effectual. The day after his arrival, the Jemautdars in a body ſurrounded his houſe, and declared that he ſhould not move out of it, until their arrears were paid, which, by their own account, amounted to 700,000 rupees. They were headed by the governor Daniſhmend Cawn, who from this time was better known in the country by the name of Berkatoolah, although not the ſame officer who defended Trinomalee in 1753. The company's Sepoys in the garriſon wondered at theſe proceedings, diſcourſed of them, and ſuſpected that the tumult was concerted, as a pretence to keep poſſeſſion of the city; for Maphuze Cawn might have been ſtopped any where elſe, as well as at Madura: their opinions being known, and their fidelity

unſhaken, the Jemautdars of the cavalry ſeized the commanders of the three companies, and having confined them, diſarmed the common men, and turned them out of the town; but the next day releaſed the officers, on recollection that no advantage could be derived from their detention, and that they might, by continuing in the city, learn what it was not wiſhed they ſhould know. As ſoon as they were gone, the brother of Myana came into the city from the woods of Nattam with 2000 colleries, a conſiderable ſtock of proviſions, and ſome money; in return for which ſervice, the Jemautdars gave him the town of Tirambore and the pagoda of Coilguddy, in which they had ſome troops. The ſuddenneſs and facility with which theſe operations paſſed, ſufficiently ſhewed that meaſures had been previouſly concerted for the ſucceſs of the rebellion. The poſſeſſion of Madura, the principal object of the conſpiracy, being ſecured, it was not thought neceſſary to diſſemble any longer. Invitations were ſent to every Polygar in the country to join. A man mounted on an elephant was received in ceremony at Madura, bringing a patent, as from the Nabob, appointing Maphuze Cawn to the government: and parties ſent into the neighbouring diſtricts pulled and tore down with deriſion the Company's flags, which had been planted by the orders of Modilee, according to the cuſtom of the country, on the lands appropriated to cultivation. 1756.

The Sepoys which had been turned out of Madura, ſent meſſengers with an account of what hapened to Mahomed Iſſoof, who had not entertained a ſurmiſe, when he received intelligence, of the revolt. He inſtantly diſpatched orders to the detachment marching to Madura, to halt, which they had already done; and to ſeize Meir Jaffier and his effects. He appointed Jemaul Saheb to remain with 1000 Sepoys at Tinivelly, and proceeding himſelf with the reſt, about 700, joined on the road the detachment he had ſent forward, which the Sepoys coming from Madura had joined before. On the 10th of Auguſt he encamped at Secunder-maly, a ſtrong poſt three miles to the ſouth of Madura: his whole force conſiſted of 1500 Sepoys and ſix field-pieces; but, not having a piece of battering cannon ſince he had deprived himſelf of the 18 pounder, he wiſely

1756. judged that it would be deſtruction to no purpoſe to have attempted an eſcalade againſt ſuch ſuperior numbers as were in the city; for even the colleries fight well behind walls. The day after his arrival ſome cavalry advanced near his poſt; but were driven back by a few diſcharges from the field-pieces, with the loſs of two men. Skirmiſhes of this kind paſſed every day after, and on ſome without any loſs on either ſide. On the 13th of September the renter Modilee arrived in the camp with two companies of Sepoys, which had eſcorted him from Tritchinopoly through the countries of the two Moravars, and the next day he continued his journey towards Tinivelly.

The Pulitaver, Catabominaigue, and the other Polygars of Tinivelly, took time to conſider how they ſhould act in conſequence of the revolution at Madura, and the Jemautdars there, not finding them ſo ready to join as they had expected, began to think of preſerving ſome openings to a reconciliation with the preſidency. Accordingly they wrote letters apologizing for the revolt, and aſcribed it intirely to their neceſſities for want of pay: and lowered their demands to 400,000 rupees. All the force which could be ſpared from the immediate ſervice of the Carnatic being at this time required for the recovery of the Company's ſettlements in Bengal, the preſidency empowered Captain Calliaud at Tritchinopoly either to treat with the Jemautdars, or to employ ſuch other means as he ſhould judge expedient to recover Madura. On this authority Captain Calliaud ſent his interpreter from Trichinopoly to Maphuze Cawn, who, in the very firſt conference, unable to keep his temper, avowed that he thought himſelf very ill uſed by the appointment of another renter, and that he would never give up Madura, until the Tinivelly countries were granted to him on the ſame terms as they had been let to Moodilee. The interpreter ſeeing no likelihood of accommodation with him, tried with the Jemautdars, offering to pay 50,000 rupees immediately, although he had brought no money, and 150,000 more after they ſhould have evacuated the city. The Jemautdars agreed to theſe terms and went to Mahomed Iſſoof's camp in order to obtain his confirmation, who not thinking himſelf ſufficiently authorized,

authorized, adviſed them to wait, without departing from the agree- 1756.
ment, until it could be ratified by Captain Calliaud; to which they conſented. Captain Calliaud approved of the terms, but added as an indiſpenſible condition that Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah ſhould be delivered up with the city. To this likewiſe the Jemautdars ſeemed to have no objection; on which orders were diſpatched to Moodilee to ſend money and bills for the amount of the agreement without delay from Tinivelly. Theſe various negotiations and correſpondences employed 30 days, during which ſeveral events happened which contributed to change the ſtate of affairs.

The family of Moodilee by their occupation of renting the countries had formed connections with moſt of the Polygars dependant on Tinivelly, more eſpecially with the Pulitaver and Catabominaigue; and on his invitations the Pulitaver and ſeveral others met him on the road. Catabominaigue and others ſent their agents; all came, as uſual, with conſiderable retinues, and in the midſt of this multitude, Moodilee entered the town of Tinivelly on the 27th of September, and proclaimed his commiſſion. But the Colleries of the Polygars, whom no conſideration can reſtrain from thieving, committed night robberies in the town and adjacent villages. Several of them were taken and puniſhed by the Company's Sepoys; on which others ſtole the effects of the Sepoys themſelves, who, irritated as much by the inſult as the loſs, transferred their reſentment on Moodilee, becauſe he ſuffered the Polygars to remain in the town, and continued to treat them with civility. At the ſame time the troops of Travancore renewed their incurſions into the diſtricts about Calacad; and Nabey Cawn Catteck, who had concealed himſelf ever ſince the defeat in which Moodemiah was killed, now appeared again, made overtures of reconciliation to Maphuze Cawn, which were accepted; and having enliſted 400 of the horſe, which Maphuze Cawn had diſbanded, kept traverſing the country between Madura and Tinivelly. Theſe diſturbances, and the diſſention between the renter Moodilee and the Company's Sepoys, had already deterred the bankers from furniſhing him with the ſums neceſſary for the commencement of his own buſineſs, at the time that he was called upon to ſupply

1756. the money for the payment of the Jemautdars at Madura. All he could diſpatch immediately was 20,000 rupees, which ſtopped on the road from an apprehenſion of being intercepted by Nabey Cawn Catteck; and it was ſome days before he could obtain authentic bills of exchange for the amount required.

Mean while the Jemautdars having the power in themſelves, had taken no pains to conceal their negotiation from Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah, who, having no other means to overſet it, employed intrigue. There was, among the Jemautdars, one named Seer Cawn, a man of art and ſpirit, attached to Berkatoolah; he had hitherto gone with the reſt, with the view alone of leading them back, whenſoever the opportunity ſhould offer. No money coming on ſeveral days in which it was expected, Seer Cawn ſuggeſted to his comrades, that the interpreter had amuſed them with the negotiation in order to cover ſome other deſign, perhaps the ſurprize of the city, by Mahomed Iſſoof's troops at Secunder Maly; and adviſed them to think of a reconciliation with their friends rather than truſt any further to thoſe whoſe views they did not know. Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah improved the effects of theſe ſuggeſtions by laviſh promiſes, which prevailed, and immediately after the reconciliation 500 horſe marched to join thoſe with Nabey Cawn Catteck.

Notwithſtanding this change, the interpreter ſtill remained in the city with hopes of renewing the negotiation, on which Captain Calliaud reſolved to go to Nattam himſelf, to be nearer at hand to give the neceſſary inſtructions; and, warned by the late diſappointment, he took with him from Tritchinopoly an agent belonging to the houſe of Buckanjee, the principal *ſhroff* or banker in the Decan, whoſe word was every where eſteemed as ready money. Arriving at Nattam on the 25th of October, he was met there by the interpreter, and an officer lately ſent by the Nabob from Arcot to treat with the Jemautdars. The officer repreſented that neither Maphuze Cawn nor Berkatoolah were in reality averſe to an accommodation, but inſiſted that the preſidency ſhould give their guarantee for the terms, ſince neither of them would truſt the Nabob: that Berkatoolah, who was rich, required only protection for his perſon, family, and

and effects; but Maphuze Cawn, a proviſion adequate to his rank. 1756.
On this information Calliaud ordered the interpreter to renew the propoſal of paying the Jemautdars, and pledged his own word to Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah; but inſiſted that Maphuze Cawn ſhould immediately accompany him to Tritchinopoly. Both ſeemed ſatisfied, and Maphuze Cawn made preparations as if he intended to proceed to Nattam the next day; but this day brought on the change of the monſoon, with ſuch ſevere and tempeſtuous weather, that nothing could ſtir abroad. The fort of Nattam had no ſhelter againſt the ſky, and the rains holding without intermiſſion, Captain Calliaud apprehenſive that the roads might become impaſſable, and keep him longer than he ought in prudence to remain out of his garriſon, left Nattam the next day, and reached Tritchinopoly on the 30th, where a day or two after came the interpreter, the Nabob's officer, and a Jemautdar ſent by Maphuze Cawn, to explain his own demands. He requeſted to be placed in the government of diſtricts, any where in the Carnatic, from which he might appropriate 200,000 rupees a year for his own maintenance; and alledging that he had been obliged to ſell every thing he had, to ſatisfy in part the demands of his troops, he aſked, but without inſiſting, for 20,000 rupees to furniſh himſelf again with neceſſaries. Captain Calliaud diſmiſſed the Jemautdar with aſſurances, that theſe terms ſhould be complied with, and ſet out himſelf for Madraſs, in order to obtain the confirmation of the preſidency, and to explain to them the general ſtate of affairs in the ſouthern countries.

At this time the expedition to Bengal had carried away one half of the Engliſh force in the Carnatic, and intelligence of the declaration of war with France increaſed the neceſſity of every caution: in conſequence of which Captain Calliaud on the ſecond day of his journey met letters from the preſidency, with poſitive orders not to quit his garriſon without their expreſs permiſſion; on which he immediately returned to Tritchinopoly.

Mean while, the diſſention between the Company's Sepoys and their renter at Tinivelly had encreaſed, and had produced evil conſequences. Moodilee by his contract was only obliged to furniſh the

pay

1756. pay of the Sepoys employed by himſelf; but Mahomed Iſſoof by a wrong interpretation, imagined that Moodilee was obliged to maintain the whole number whereſoever employed; and moreover to diſcharge the arrears of their pay, of which two months were due on his arrival in the country. In conſequence of this miſtake, Jemaul-ſahab, who commanded the Sepoys in Tinivelly, demanded the amount, and on Moodilee's refuſing to pay it, confined him under a guard for ſeveral days; during which he ordered the Pulitaver and the other Polygars to quit the town, with threats of ſevere puniſhent if they remained any longer. They departed immediately; but inſtead of returning to their homes, the Pulitaver went to Nabey Cawn Catteck and offered him his aſſiſtance, both in men and money; and by their united repreſentations, Catabominaigue was induced to join their league. At the ſame time the troops of Travancore kept their ground, and continued their depredations in the diſtricts dependant on Calacad. The hopes of the advantages which might be derived from theſe confuſions, were much more agreeable to the diſpoſition of Berkatoolah, than the ſucceſs of his negotiation with the Engliſh, by which he was to obtain nothing more than the pardon of his offences; and in the middle of November, as ſoon as the ground was ſufficiently dry, to march, he went from the city, and put himſelf at the head of the 500 horſe, which had gone out before, and were now joined to thoſe of Nabey Cawn Catteck, and the troops of the Polygars. The whole force amounted to 10,000 men, of which 1000 were horſe. They were aſſembled about 40 miles to the ſouth of Madura, and inſtead of proceeding directly to the ſouth, in the open country, ſtruck to the eaſt into the diſtricts of Catabominaigue, a part of whoſe woods extend within a few miles of the town of Tinivelly. Iſſuing from thence at night before their approach was known, they entered the town at day-break by ſeveral avenues, which were weakly guarded: for Moodilee a few days before had marched with the greateſt part of the Sepoys and his other force, about twenty miles to the ſouth-eaſt, in order to protect the diſtricts of Alwar Tinivelly, againſt which he had been led to believe the enemy deſigned to bend their attack. The enemy remained

mained two days in Tinivelly, plundered much, but committed no cruelties; and during this delay, Moodilee regained the fort of Palamcolah, which ſtands on the other ſide of the river about three miles from the town. The fort is ſpacious, but the ramparts were in ruins, nevertheleſs capable of reſiſting an enemy, which had no battering cannon. Matchlocks and muſketry were fired without any miſchief for two days, during which the cavalry ravaged the country round. Mahomed Iſſoof, who ſtill continued at Secundermaly, before Madura, received no certain intelligence of the enemy's deſign until four days after they were in motion; he immediately ſtruck his camp and proceeded towards Tinivelly, and they hearing of his approach collected all their parties and advanced to give him battle. The two armies met on the 1ſt of December at Gangadoram, about twenty miles north of Tinivelly. The inferiority of numbers was much more than compenſated by ſuperior ſkill; the Company's Sepoys faced the enemy on every ſide with advantage of ſituation and diſcipline, and the field-pieces were fired with much execution againſt the cavalry, whoſe fortunes depending on the preſervation of their horſes, they quitted the conteſt and the field. The next day Mahomed Iſſoof proceeded to Tinivelly, and from thence marched into the deſolated diſtricts, in order to give heart to the inhabitants, and recall them to their occupations. The Polygars returned to their woods, and Berkatoolah with his cavalry to Madura; but Nabey Cawn Catteck went to Chevelpetore, and not having means to attack the fort, in which were ſome Sepoys, attempted to eſcalade the pagoda in the town; on which one of the Bramins went to the top of the high tower over the gateway, and after a ſhort but loud prayer of execration, threw himſelf headlong to the pavement, which daſhed out his brains; the enemy, although Mahomedans, were ſo much afraid of incurring the general deteſtation of the country, if their attempts againſt the pagoda ſhould incite any more acts of ſuch enthuſiaſtic devotion, that they immediately retreated out of the town. 1756.

Whilſt Captain Calliaud was in expectation of a concluſive anſwer from Maphuze Cawn's agent, he received intelligence of the new confederacy, and their operations, and of Berkatoolah's departure

1756. from Madura to partake in their hoſtilities: nevertheleſs, ſome hopes of reconciliation ſtill remained; for ſome of the Jemautdars, although the leſſer number, were averſe to the turbulent proceedings of the others, and wiſhed an accommodation on the terms which had once been ſo nearly concluded: he therefore determined to make another trial, and ſent Mr. William Rumbold, a lieutenant of his garriſon, who talked the languages of the country, together with the interpreter, to renew the negotiation. They were eſcorted by a company of Sepoys, and arrived at Madura on the third of December, and on the next day came into the town Berkatoolah, with his cavalry, which had been beaten by Mahomed Iſſoof.

Maphuze Cawn received Mr. Rumbold with much civility, and in a private conference acknowledged his errors, apologized for his conduct, and promiſed to accompany him to Tritchinopoly; but neither of them ſuſpected that a perſon had been placed behind a curtain to liſten to their converſation. About an hour after the viſit, the Jemautdar Seer Cawn, with a body of horſe, beſet Maphuze Cawn's houſe, and made him a priſoner; and after a meſſage, which was not complied with, ſent 30 horſemen to force Mr. Rumbold out of the city; who, having no means of reſiſtance, obeyed, and rejoined his eſcort, which he had left at a choultry on the other ſide of the river. As ſoon as he was gone, Seer Cawn aſſembled all the Jemautdars, whom he perſuaded that Maphuze Cawn intended to ſell them and the city. When they were ſufficiently inflamed, Berkatoolah came in, and war was determined: but, whilſt they were deliberating on the manner of conducting it, came a letter from Mr. Rumbold, threatening the utmoſt vengeance of the Engliſh nation for the indignity which had been offered to its repreſentative in his perſon; and the immediate return of Mahomed Iſſoof with all the Company's Sepoys was held out as an earneſt of this reſolution. The Jemautdars, ſtartled at the expreſſions of indignation in Mr. Rumbold's letter, agreed to invite him to return. He refuſed, without public reparation; of which they permitted him to dictate the mode; conformable to which, Maphuze Cawn, with all the Jemautdars, came the next morning to the choultry, made many apologies, and

conducted

conducted him back to the city: where, on entering the gate, he was ſaluted by the diſcharge of all the cannon on the ramparts, which were only 13 pieces. The negotiation was renewed on the ſame terms as before; and it was agreed to wait until the guarantee of the preſidency for the terms required by Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah, ſhould arrive from Madraſs. But three days after this preliminary was ſettled, Nabey Cawn Catteck, with his horſe, came from Chevelpetore, and immediately on his arrival offered to furniſh 40,000 rupees for the preſent ſubſiſtence of the cavalry of the Jemautdars, if they would relinquiſh all treaty with the Engliſh, and ſend Mr. Rumbold away. On the buſtle occaſioned by this propoſal, Mr. Rumbold went to Maphuze Cawn, who wept, and in his anguiſh broke his ſeal, that he might not be obliged to affix it any more to acts he did not approve. From Maphuze Cawn's he went to Berkatoolah's, where he aſſembled and harangued the Jemautdars, who, after various diſcuſſions, conſented that the articles to which, they had before acceded ſhould be immediately drawn up in both languages and executed by all parties: it was now night, and to do this required ſome hours; for every Jemautdar was to ſign. This while was employed with much aſſiduity by Nabey Cawn Catteck, who now offered to ſupply 3,500 rupees a day, which, being fully ſufficient for the maintenance of the whole body of cavalry, prevailed; and Mr. Rumbold was adviſed to take care of himſelf, as all the roads would ſoon be ſtopped. He accordingly went out of the city the next morning, as if he had ſomething to regulate concerning his eſcort of Sepoys; with whom he ſet off at midnight, and reached the fort of Nattam without interruption, when, being out of danger, he proceeded more leiſurely to Tritchinopoly, where he arrived on the 15th of December. Thus ended the third unſucceſsful attempt to get poſſeſſion of Madura by negotiation, in all of which the contumelious conduct of the Jemautdars was not the effect of ſudden exigencies, but the reſult of a plan formed by Berkatoolah to lead them to ſuch extremities of affront, as ſhould preclude all hopes of reconciliation with the Engliſh. That ſuch was their ſituation he eaſily convinced them, 1756.

1756. as ſoon as Mr. Rumbold was gone, and then declared he intended not only to maintain the city, but likewiſe to recover the whole country for Maphuze Cawn. Theſe reſolutions were not unanimouſly approved, but the diſſenters were by far the ſmaller number; and letters of invitation were immediately diſpatched to all the Polygars, to Hyder Naig the Myſore general, and to the King of Travancore. A few days after, Berkatoolah and Nabey Cawn Catteck went with 500 horſe to the Pulitaver's place. The commander Mahomed Iſſoof, on receiving the ſummons of Mr. Rumbold, had returned from the diſtricts he was viſiting to Tinivelly; where leaving as before 1000 Sepoys, he proceeded with the reſt, about 1,800, towards Madura. The renter Moodilee, naturally timorous, reſolved to accompany the greater force, and, beſides his uſual retinue, was attended by 100 good horſe, which he had lately levied. They arrived on the 16th of December at Gangadorum, where Mahomed Iſſoof hearing of Mr. Rumbold's departure from Madura, halted to obſerve the motions of the enemy, and remained there until he received information that Nabey Cawn Catteck and Berkatoolah had paſſed to the Pulitaver's, on which he proceeded to Chevelpetore, and encamped there, in order to awe the Polygars in this part of the country from joining the enemy.

During the march Moodilee ſent one of his relations, named Algapa, to negotiate a reconciliation with the Pulitaver, and offer ſome diſtricts as the fee of his alliance. The Pulitaver, who never refuſed or kept his word on any occaſion, ſent an agent with Algapa to the camp at Chevelpetore, and at the ſame time ſent his troops to join Berkatoolah and Nabey Cawn Catteck. The agent, under the uſual pretext of doing honour to his embaſſy, was accompanied by two or three hundred colleries. Mahomed Iſſoof entirely diſapproved of the intercourſe, as he knew the Pulitaver's character, and that ſome of his people were at this very time plundering to the weſtward of Tinivelly. Unfortunately, during this mood of indignation, five of the agent's colleries were taken, ſtealing oxen and horſes belonging to the camp, and being brought to Mahomed Iſſoof, he immediately put them to death, by blowing them off from the mouth of a cannon: a ſanguinary exe-

cution, not unfrequent in Indoſtan, and in this caſe atrocious. The agent, with all his retinue of Colleries, immediately ran away from the camp; and their injury determined the Pulitaver, perhaps for the firſt time in his life, to act with ſome good faith toward thoſe with whom he was connected. But knowing the irreſolution of Maphuze Cawn, he, with his uſual cunning, was afraid of truſting him in Madura expoſed to the overtures and negotiations of the Engliſh, and inſiſted that he ſhould come from thence to Nelletangaville, and remain at all times under his own ward. In conſequence, Berkatoolah, who was with the Pulitaver, ſent for Maphuze Cawn, who, in the end of December, went from the city with 500 horſe. Thus cloſed the year in the countries of Madura and Tinivelly. 1756.

Between Tanjore and Tondiman the quarrel had continued, notwithſtanding the retreat of the Tanjorine army in the preceding year: but the letters of the preſidency of Madraſs, and the ſubtle delays of Monacjee, again prevented the renewal of hoſtilities until the end of June, when the forces of Tanjore were required to revenge another quarrel. The Daniſh ſettlement at Tranquebar had requeſted an enlargement of their bounds, which the king refuſed, and the Danes ſoon after, on the pretence of ſome outrages from his officers, attacked two pagodas in the neighbourhood. One they took, and whilſt they were employed before the other, were attacked themſelves at a diſadvantage by a large detachment of horſe and foot from Tanjore, who killed 40 of them, and wounded 100; on which the reſt retreated to Tranquebar: a negotiation enſued, which, by the interpoſition of the preſidency of Madraſs, was concluded in the middle of Auguſt. In September began the great and long feaſt of the king and his gods, which conſumed the month. In October, the approach of the rains gave Monacjee a pretence to keep the army in quarters; and after they ſet in, it was impoſſible to move until they were over. The king then inſiſted, and Monacjee proceeded againſt Killanelly Cottah, of which Tondiman had taken poſſeſſion in conſequence of the ſurreptitious ceſſion made to him the year before by Monacjee, who had clandeſtinely affixed the King's ſeal to the grant. It ſtands 40 miles s. by w. of Tanjore, and was ſtronger than any place which Tondiman

1756. Tondiman had taken before: and the Tanjorines had made very little progreſs in the attack at the end of the year.

The French had not, during the year, meddled, excepting by private inſtigations, in the quarrels of the ſouthern countries. The Rheddy, whom they had reſtored at Terriore, failed, as before, in his tributes; on which they ſent a party of 50 Europeans from Seringham, which were joined by another from Pondicherry, who removed him, and reinſtated the other, who likewiſe had before been once appointed and once depoſed. This expedition was finiſhed in the beginning of February, but the party from Seringham remained at Terriore to watch the tributes in future. In July 100 Europeans were taken from Seringham, to compleat the detachment ſent with Mr. Law to the relief of Mr. Buſſy at Charmaul. By theſe ſubſtractions, which were not replaced, the garriſon at Seringham, which before was ſuperior, remained at the cloſe of the year only equal in Europeans to that of Tritchinopoly, each having about 330; but 200 more were ſent thither from Pondicherry on the 9th of December: and 500 Sepoys were raiſing at Terriore, in order to equal the number in Tritchinopoly, which were 1500. Thus ended the year 1756 in Coromandel.

END *of the* SIXTH BOOK.

BOOK

BENGAL
with the DIVISIONS,
AND
The ADJACENT COUNTRIES.
THIBET or BOOTAN
AMOBA
BERRILLY
KAIRABAD
BAHRAITCH
NAPAL
GORACPOUR
MUCWANNY
BETTIAH
ETAYAH
LUCKNOW
CORAH
CARRAH
SARANG
TYROOT
PURANIAH
MANGAMATY
BUNDELCUND
BENARES
CHAWARAD
DINAGEPOUR
MAHARATTAS
BOOGILCUND
CAWRAR
SINGROWLA
PALAMOW
RAMGUR
BEER
BOOM
NIZAMSHAW
SIRGOOJAH
BURWA
BEMBAJEE
PACHAIT
BURD
MID
JESSORE
SUMBULPOOR
MOHUR
BENGAL
BAY OF BENGAL

BOOK VII.

WE ſhall now relate the progreſs and operations of the armament ſent for the recovery of the ſettlements in Bengal. 1756.

The fleet ſailing on the 10th of October, met the currents ſetting ſo ſtrongly from the North, that they were driven in the firſt twelve days after their departure, ſix degrees of latitude to the ſouth of Madraſs; and by this time the northern monſoon, during which the wind blows from the N. W. had gathered ſtrength. In this ſeaſon the only way to get Bengal, is to ſteer acroſs the bay to the ſhore of Tannaſery and Arracan, along which the currents ſlacken, and ſometimes even tend to the northward; and milder weather than in the middle of the bay enables the veſſel to gain the latitude of the ſands at the eaſtern mouths of the Ganges; from whence tides help acroſs to the road of Ballaſore, and from hence aſſure the entrance into the river Hughley. Attempting this paſſage with much adverſe weather, Admiral Watſon, on the 10th of November, ordered the allowances of proviſions and water to be retrenched. Two days after, the fire-ſhip, unable to ſtem the violence of the monſoon, bore away to Ceylon; and the Marlborough, one of the company's, ſailing very heavily, was left on the 16th by the reſt of the fleet, which arrived in the ſoundings off Point Palmeiras on the firſt of December. But the Cumberland and Saliſbury not having kept the wind ſo well as the others, ſtruck on the dangerous ſand which extends ſeveral miles from that point out to ſea: both, however, floated again; but the Cumberland bore away to Vizagapatam.

1756. The Kent and Tyger gained the road of Ballaſore, where they waited for the ſpring tides until the 9th, when they proceeded under the conduct of Engliſh pilots into the river, and arrived on the 15th at Fulta. Here they were joined, on the 20th, by all the other veſſels, excepting the Cumberland and the Marlborough, the abſence of which greatly impaired the force of the armament: for the Cumberland was not only the largeſt ſhip in the ſquadron, but had likewiſe on board 250 of the European troops; and the greateſt part of the field artillery had been imprudently ſhipped on board of the Marlborough.

The detachment with Major Kilpatrick had arrived at Fulta on the ſecond of Auguſt; but were not deemed a force ſufficient to riſque hoſtilities; and the veſſels before aſſembled there being too much crouded to receive them on board, they were obliged to encamp in the ſwampy grounds near the town, where ſickneſs prevailed amongſt them ſo much, that of the whole detachment, which was 230 when ſent, one half were dead, and of the remainder not more than thirty men were able to do duty when Admiral Watſon arrived.

The rainy ſeaſon, which began whilſt the Nabob was before Calcutta, prevented him after his return to Muxadavad from reaſſuming his former intention of attacking his relation the Phouſdar of Purneah until the month of October. He then marched to that country: when the two armies encamped in ſight of each other, the Phouſdar, a head-ſtrong youth, ſaw the general Meer Jaffier with a party reconnoitring, and miſtaking his enſigns for the Nabob's haſtened with the foremoſt of his cavalry to attack him, and was killed in the onſet. The country of Purneah ſubmitted immediately after his death, and the Nabob returned in triumph to his capital: where, ruminating on the exceſs and apparent ſecurity of his fortunes, he continued to imagine, that the Engliſh would never venture hoſtilities in his dominions; to which preſumption his ignorance did not a little contribute; for he was often heard to ſay, that he did not believe there were ten thouſand men in all Europe. His miniſters, however, had convinced him, that his revenues would be much

ch diminiſhed by the loſs of the Engliſh trade: which had de- 1756.
hined him to permit their return; but under the ſame reſtrictions
ney were ſubject to in the reign of Jaffier, before their embaſſy
elhi. On hearing of the arrival of the armament, he ordered his
le army to aſſemble at Muxadavad, and prepared to march to Calcutta. The governor of this place, Monickchund, having foreſeen the war, had been diligent in improving his garriſon, had fortified Buz-buzia, and had begun to erect a fort, which he called Aligur, on the bank of the river oppoſite to Tannah; but only part of the rampart commanding the river was finiſhed. The Phouſdar of Hughley purchaſed two ſhips, which he loaded with bricks, intending to ſink them in the narrow paſs of the river between Tannah and Aligur.

Before the arrival of the armament, letters from the court of directors in England, had appointed Mr. Drake, with three other members of the council, to act as a ſelect committee, in the conduct of all political and military affairs. They had already aſſociated Major Kilpatrick, and as ſoon as the fleet arrived at Fulta, they added Mr. Watſon and Colonel Clive to their board. The letters which Clive had brought from Madraſs, accompanied by one from himſelf and another from Mr. Watſon, full of threats, were ſent open to Monickchund, the governor of Calcutta, in order to be forwarded to the Nabob. Monickchund replied that he dared not ſend letters written in ſuch menacing terms; and on receiving this anſwer, it was determined to commence hoſtilities. The abſence of the troops on board the Cumberland was in ſome meaſure ſupplied by the recovering men of Kilpatrick's detachment, and by a company of ſeventy volunteers, who embodied themſelves at Fulta.

All the ſhips and veſſels, as well thoſe which were juſt arrived, as thoſe which were before aſſembled at Fulta, left this place on the 27th of December, and the next afternoon anchored at Mayapore, a town ten miles below the fort of Buz-buzia. This fort Mr. Watſon determined to attack the next day; and, as it was ſuppoſed that the garriſon would defend it but a very little while, it was reſolved to lay an ambuſcade, in order to intercept their retreat towards

1756. Calcutta. All the men of Adlercron's regiment who were arrived, being 120, remained on board the ſhips of war. The reſt of the battalion, 500, with all the Sepoys, and two field-pieces, landed, and at ſun-ſet marched from Mayapore, under the command of Colonel Clive, and under the conduct of Indian guides. The field-pieces, with a tumbril of ammunition, were drawn by the troops: for the council at Fulta, through dread of the Nabob's reſentment, had not ventured to provide any bullocks either of draught or burthen. The guides, in order to prevent diſcovery, led the troops at a diſtance from the river, through a part of the country, which was uninhabited indeed, but full of ſwamps, and continually interſected by deep rivulets, which rendered the draught and tranſportation of the three carriages ſo tedious and laborious, that the troops did not arrive until an hour after ſun-riſe at the place of ambuſcade. This was a large hollow, which in the rains might be a lake, ſinking about ten feet below the level of the plain: it lay about a mile from the river, a mile and a half north-eaſt of Buz-buzia, and half a mile to the eaſt of a high-road leading from this place to Calcutta. The eaſtern, and part of the ſouthern bank of the hollow, were ſkirted by the huts and encloſures of a village, which ſeemed to have been abandoned ſome days before. The grenadiers and 300 Sepoys were detached from the hollow, to take poſſeſſion of another village on the bank of the river adjoining to the northern wall of the fort of Buz-buzia; where, it was ſuppoſed, that their appearance would induce the garriſon to miſtake them for the whole of the Engliſh troops on ſhore; and that in conſequence of this notion they would retreat along the high road, inſtead of the bank of the river. The company of volunteers were detached, and poſted themſelves in ſome thickets near the high road, but on the farther ſide from the hollow, towards which it was intended that their fire ſhould drive the fugitive garriſon. The reſt of the troops remained with Colonel Clive, and concealed themſelves, ſome in the hollow, and others in the adjoining village, and the two field-pieces were placed on the north-ſide of the village. The troops being exceſſively fatigued, were permitted

[redacted]o quit their arms, in order to get reſt; every man laid him- 1756.
ſelf down where he thought beſt, ſome in the village, others in the hollow; and from a ſecurity which no ſuperiority or appearances in war could juſtify, the common precaution of ſtationing centinels was neglected. In a few minutes they were all aſleep. It happened that Monickchund, the governor of Calcutta, had come the day before to Buz-buzia, with 1500 horſe, and 2000 foot. This officer had no courage, but much circumſpection; and ſome of his ſpies had followed the Engliſh from Mayapore, and had obſerved all their motions in the morning.

About an hour after the troops had lain down to ſleep, they were awakened by the fire of ſmall arms on the eaſtern ſide of the village, into which, at the ſame time, a multitude of matchlock men were diſcovered advancing with reſolution. All the ſoldiers, whereſoever ſcattered, hurried on the alarm into the hollow, in which their arms were grounded, about 60 yards from the encloſures on the eaſtern bank; here they formed the line as faſt as they could; but, unfortunately, the artillery-men, inſtead of repairing to the two field-pieces, which would have protected the whole, ran to ſeek protection themſelves from the line. During this confuſion, the enemy, meeting no reſiſtance, advanced and took poſſeſſion of the eaſtern bank; from whence, under the ſhelter of various covers, they kept up a continual, although irregular fire, wounding ſeveral, and killing an enſign. Colonel Clive, apprehenſive of a panic, ſhould he order the troops to march out of the reach of the enemy's fire, commanded the line to ſtand firm, and detached two platoons, one from the right, the other from the center, oppoſite to which the enemy's fire was ſtrongeſt. Of the platoon from the center eight men were killed by one volley, before they gained the bank; the reſt nevertheleſs returned the fire, and then forced their way with their bayonets into the village; where they were joined by the other platoon, which had ſucceeded with the loſs of only three men. This intrepidity quelled the enemy's courage, who no longer appeared in bodies, but ſhifted in ſmall parties from ſhelter to ſhelter, firing rarely, and with little effect; however, ſome officers on horſeback expoſed themſelves

1756. ſelves with much reſolution, endeavouring to rally their men; but in vain. In the mean time, the company of volunteers, as ſoon as they heard the firing, marched back from the high road, and reſcued the field-pieces, of which ſome of the enemy had taken poſſeſſion, but did not know how to uſe them. Upon this, the artillery-men returned from the line to the field-pieces, and immediately began to fire them into the village, which ſoon drove all the enemy out of it, who fled as faſt as they could to join a large body of horſe, which was now diſcovered advancing from the ſouth towards the hollow: but, on perceiving the fugitives coming from the village, this cavalry halted at the diſtance of half a mile. On this the Engliſh troops, with the field-pieces, formed regularly on the plain, and advanced towards the enemy, who were commanded by Monickchund. They ſtood ſeveral ſhot from the field-pieces, until one chanced to paſs very near the turband of Monickchund, who immediately gave the ſignal of retreat by turning his elephant, and the whole body marched away to the north-eaſt and returned to Calcutta. Had the cavalry advanced and charged the troops in the hollow, at the ſame time that the infantry began to fire upon the village, it is not improbable, that the war would have been concluded on the very firſt trial of hoſtilities.

As ſoon as the enemy retreated, the troops marched to the village on the bank of the river, from whence the detachment poſted there, was advancing to join them. By this time the Kent, having outſailed the other ſhips, anchored before Buz-buzia, and alone ſilenced the cannon of that fort; but the troops having already undergone ſo much fatigue, it was determined to defer the aſſault until the next morning. They paſſed the reſt of the day in the village, without giving or receiving any moleſtation, and in the evening were joined by 250 ſailors from the ſquadron. One of theſe having got drunk, ſtraggled, at eight in the evening, to the ditch of the fort, which he croſſed, and ſcrambled up the rampart; where, finding no centinels, he hollowed to the advanced guards in the village that he had taken the fort; on which they quitted their poſt, and joined him on the rampart, when they found the place evacuated,

y having abandoned it as ſoon as it grew dark enough to conceal their retreat. Several guards of Sepoys proceeded immediately to poſt centinels round the walls; and whilſt this was doing, ſome other ſailors, who were likewiſe very drunk and had got into the fort, ſuppoſed ſome of the Sepoys to be ſome of the enemy's men who had not eſcaped; and in this notion fired their piſtols, and killed Captain Campbell, an officer of the company's troops. 1756.

The operations of the morning at the hollow, irregular and imperfect as they were, changed the contemptible opinion which Monickchund and his ſoldiery had conceived of Engliſh troops, from their own ſucceſs at the taking of Calcutta; and on his return from Buz-buzia to that place, he remained there only a few hours, and leaving 500 men to defend the fort, went away with the reſt of his command to Hughley, where having likewiſe communicated his own terrors, he proceeded to carry them to the Nabob at Muxadavad. On the other hand, the reſolution and activity with which the enemies matchlock men began their aſſault on the village, impreſſed moſt of the Engliſh officers, and many of the common men, with a much higher opinion of the troops of Bengal than they deſerved.

The ſloop of war had been ſent forward ſome days before, and anchored in ſight of the forts of Tannah and Aligur, where her appearance had deterred the governor of Hughley from ſending the ſhips laden with bricks, which he had intended to ſink in the paſs. The fleet left Buz-buzia on the 30th of December, and anchored on the 1ſt of January between thoſe forts, which the enemy abandoned without firing a ſhot, leaving on the platforms 50 pieces of cannon, which they had brought from Calcutta, many of which however were not mounted. The next morning, Colonel Clive, with the greateſt part of the Europeans and Sepoys, landed and marched along the high road from Aligur to Calcutta; and at nine o'clock the Kent and Tyger anchored before the Engliſh fort; but for want of wind could not immediately preſent their broadſides; during which diſadvantage the enemy cannonaded them briſkly from the line of guns on the brink of the river, killing nine men in the Kent, 1757. January.

1757. January. Kent, and ſeven in the Tyger; but their fire ſlackened as that from the ſhips increaſed; and before eleven they deſerted the fort, and ſoon after the town; when a detachment ſent from the ſhips, under the command of Captain Coote, hoiſted the Engliſh colours in the fort; for the troops with Colonel Clive were not yet arrived. The next day Admiral Watſon put Mr. Drake, and the former members of the council, in poſſeſſion of the government.

The greateſt part of the merchandizes belonging to the company, which were in the fort when taken, were found remaining without detriment; for this part of the plunder had been reſerved for the Nabob; but every thing of value belonging to the inhabitants had been removed out of the ſettlement: ſome of the beſt houſes had been demoliſhed, and others damaged by fire; in the middle of the fort a moſque was erected with the materials of ſeveral buildings which had been pulled down to make room for it; but no alterations had been made in the fortification. About 50,000 of the Indian inhabitants had returned to their dwellings during the government of Monickchund; they were indeed moſtly of the lower ranks of people; for his rapacity had deterred ſuch as were known to have property from truſting themſelves within his reach.

Whatſoever joy the Engliſh inhabitants might feel at their reſtoration to the town, it was ſoon allayed by the contemplation of the ruined ſtate of their habitations, and of the poverty to which they were reduced, having no means to procure themſelves ſubſiſtence, but their uſual allowances from the company.

Mr. Drake, notwithſtanding his adverſities, had retained ſome correſpondents, and the company's money ſome ſpies, from whom he received intelligence as ſoon as he arrived at Calcutta, that the town of Hughley was in great conſternation, and that it would be ſome time before the Nabob's army would march from Muxadavad; upon which the committee reſolved to attack Hughley without delay. The twenty-gun ſhip, the ſloop of war, and three other veſſels, were appointed to this ſervice; and on board of them embarked 150 Europeans, being thoſe of Adlercron's regiment, with 200 Sepoys; they ſailed on the 4th of January, and hoped to reach Hughley in one tide;

[redacted] the twenty-gun ſhip ſtruck upon a ſand-bank, which ſtopped their progreſs for five days. On the 10th they arrived at Hughley. 1757. January.

This town lieth about 23 miles above Calcutta, adjoining to the north part of the Dutch ſettlement of Chinchura, from whence it extends three miles on the bank of the river: at the northern extremity of the town is a fort, which was at this time garriſoned by 2000 men: 3000 more had been ſent from Muxadavad to guard the town, but theſe retreated as ſoon as the Engliſh troops landed; remaining however within a few miles. The veſſels battered the fort until night; and although the breach was ſcarcely practicable, it was determined to ſtorm it before break of day. A falſe attack was made at the main gate, whilſt Captain Coote with the other diviſion, accompanied by ſome ſailors, mounted the breach before they were diſcovered by the garriſon, who no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh on the ramparts, than all of them quitted their poſts, and fled out of the leſſer gate. Three Europeans and ten Sepoys were killed in the attack. On the 12th Captain Coote, with 50 Europeans, and 100 Sepoys, marched to the Bandell, a large village three miles north of the fort, where they deſtroyed ſeveral granaries of rice, and in their return were ſurrounded in the village by the fugitive garriſon, and the troops which had been ſent from Muxadavad, from whom they diſengaged themſelves without loſing a man. On the 16th a party proceeded in boats ſome miles to the northward, and deſtroyed ſeveral more granaries on each ſide of the river, and on the 19th the Europeans, with the ſmaller veſſels, returned to Calcutta.

During this expedition to Hughley, news arrived from Aleppo, that war had been declared between Great Britain and France in the preceding month of May. There were 300 Europeans, and a train of field artillery at Chandernagore: and the ſelect committee of Calcutta expected that they would immediately join the Nabob, with whom, it was thought, that the Engliſh force, great as it was, would then be unable to cope, and in this perſuaſion they determined to treat with him. Accordingly Colonel Clive wrote a letter to the *Seats* at Muxadavad requeſting them to act as mediators; but news

1757. January. of the attack upon Hughley arriving at the ſame time, exaſperated the Nabob and all his officers ſo much, that he immediately began his march, and the *Seats* were afraid to appear as friends to the Engliſh; they however deputed their ableſt agent Rungeet Roy to attend the Nabob, and ordered him to correſpond with Colonel Clive. The merchant Omichund likewiſe accompanied the Nabob's army. This man, anxious to recover his ſhattered fortunes, had followed him from Calcutta to Muxadavad, where ingratiating himſelf with Moonloll, who although no public miniſter, had more influence than all of them together, he ſoon acquired a degree of confidence and intimacy with the Nabob himſelf; who nevertheleſs reſtored with a very ſparing hand his effects which had been ſeized in the general plunder and confiſcation of the Engliſh property. Omichund being likewiſe proprietor of moſt of the beſt houſes, and having many other intereſts in Calcutta, was ſolicitous to regain his former influence amongſt the Engliſh, by promoting the pacification.

In the mean time the Engliſh had not been negligent in making preparations to oppoſe the Nabob's approach to Calcutta, for they had fortified a camp with ſeveral outpoſts around it, about a mile to the northward of the town, and half a mile from the bank of the river. The ſituation was well choſen; for a large lake, which commenceth about two miles to the eaſtward of the Morattoe ditch, and adjoins to marſhes which extend to the ſea, rendered it impoſſible for an enemy coming from the northward to enter the company's territory without paſſing in ſight of the camp; and at the end of the month the field artillery of the army was compleated by the arrival of the Marlborough, which had the greateſt part on board. On the 30th, the Nabob's army began to croſs the river, about 10 miles above Hughley. Their approach immediately deterred the villagers from bringing any more proviſions either to the town or camp, and all the natives who had been hired for the ſervices of the army, deſerted. The want of bullocks ſtill continued, and there was but one horſe either in the camp or town, and this had been brought from Madraſs. However, the apprehenſions of the French joining the Nabob, were in a great meaſure removed; for they, inſtead of this reſolution, which

as certainly their intereſt to have taken without delay, re- 1757.
their aſſiſtance, and propoſed to the Engliſh, that the two January.
nations ſhould engage by treaty not to commit hoſtilities againſt each other in Bengal during the continuance of the war in Europe. Nevertheleſs, Colonel Clive deſpaired of victory over the Nabob, although unaſſiſted by the French force; and yielding to the advice of Rungeet Roy, wrote a letter to the Nabob on the 30th of January propoſing peace. The Nabob anſwered with expreſſions of cordiality; but continued his march. As he approached, an Armenian, named Petrus, brought and carried ſeveral meſſages; and on the 2d of February, the Nabob deſired to confer with deputies, and February.
promiſed to ſend paſſports for them in the evening; but no paſſports came; and the next morning at day-break, the villages to the north-eaſt were ſeen in flames, and ſoon after the van of his army appeared advancing in full march towards Calcutta. Their way was along a high road, which runs for a mile north and ſouth, until it reaches the head of the lake, where was a bridge of maſonry, from whence the road turns and continues in the direction of eaſt and weſt, almoſt in a ſtreight line for two miles until it joins the N. E. part of the Morattoe ditch: ſo that if the bridge had been retrenched, and a detachment with two field-pieces poſted there, the enemy muſt have paſſed between this poſt and the camp: but Colonel Clive, perhaps not imprudently unwilling to divide his force, and equally ſo to break off the negotiation with the Nabob, ſuffered the troops in ſight to paſs unmoleſted; who ſpread themſelves without the Morattoe ditch, and a body of their *Louchees*, or plunderers, who are armed with clubs, paſſed into the company's territory about noon, and attacked the houſes of the natives in the northern part of the town; but a detachment which had been poſted at Perring's redoubt, ſallied, and, killing ſome of them, returned with 50 priſoners; which deterred the enemy from making any more incurſions during the reſt of the day. In the plain, troops after troops, in different intervals, followed the firſt that appeared; and in the afternoon a large body, with cannon and coolies, began to intrench themſelves in a large garden on the right hand of the road, midway

1757. February. between the bridge and the Morattoe ditch, and about a mile and a half to the ſouth-eaſt of the Engliſh camp. On this inſult, Colonel Clive immediately marched with the greateſt part of his troops, and ſix field-pieces; as they approached, the enemy fired upon them from nine pieces of cannon, and ſeveral bodies of their cavalry drew up on each ſide of the garden, of which the attack appeared ſo hazardous, that Clive reſtrained the action to a cannonade, which continued only an hour, that the troops might regain the camp before dark: three Sepoys and two artillery men were killed, and about ten of the enemy's horſe.

The next morning, the main body of the enemy's army appeared advancing in the ſame road as the van had paſſed, and a letter was received from the Nabob, deſiring that the deputies would come to Nabob-gunge, a village ſix miles to the north of the camp: on which Mr. Walſh and Mr. Scrafton were immediately ſent; who when they arrived at Nabob-gunge, found that the Nabob had quitted it ſome hours before; on which they followed in the track of the army, and in the evening arrived at his quarters, which he had taken up in a garden belonging to Omichund, ſituated in the north-eaſt part of the company's territory, within the Morattoe ditch. Here they were introduced by Rungeet Roy to the prime miniſter Roydoolub, who ſuſpecting that they intended to aſſaſſinate the Nabob, deſired to examine whether they had piſtols concealed, and then inſiſted that they ſhould quit their ſwords; but finding that they would not ſubmit to this humiliation, he conducted them to the Durbar, where the Nabob was ſitting in full ſtate, accompanied by all his principal officers: many others of inferior degree, ſuch as were of the largeſt ſtature, and bore the greateſt marks of ferocity in their countenances, had likewiſe been ſelected to attend on this occaſion; who, to appear ſtill more terrible, were dreſſed in thick ſtuffed garments, with enormous turbans, and during the audience ſat ſcowling at the deputies, as if they only waited the ſignal to murder them. The deputies began by expoſtulating with the Nabob for entering the company's limits, whilſt he was amuſing Colonel Clive with offers of peace, after which they delivered a paper containing

their propoſals, which the Nabob read, and having whiſpered to ſome of his officers, deſired the deputies to confer with the Duan, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly. As the deputies were going out, Omichund, who had been preſent at the audience, adviſed them to take care of themſelves; adding, with a very ſignificant look, that the Nabob's cannon was not yet come up. The deputies ſuſpecting that the Nabob intended to detain them priſoners, ordered their attendants to extinguiſh their lights; and inſtead of going to the tent of the Duan, haſtened along the high road within the Morattoe ditch to Perring's redoubt, and from thence to the camp. 1757. February.

Their report determined Colonel Clive to attack the Nabob's camp in the morning. At midnight 600 ſailors armed with firelocks were landed from the ſhips of war; the battalion of Europeans were 650, the artillery-men 100, the Sepoys 800, the field-pieces 6 ſix-pounders. The order of march was a line advancing in half-files, that is three men abreaſt: half the Sepoys marched before, and half behind the battalion of Europeans; in the rear were the field-pieces with the artillery-men and Laſcars, and all the ſailors. To leſſen the incumbrance of carriages, there being no bullocks to draw them, the Laſcars carried the ammunition of the field-pieces on their heads; and to deter them from flinging away their loads and taking flight, they were guarded on all ſides by a part of the ſailors; other ſailors were allotted to draw the field-pieces, and the reſt of them marched as they could, immediately behind the rear diviſion of Sepoys; Colonel Clive kept in the middle of the battalion. Of the Nabob's army, a part, with the general Meer Jaffier, were within the Morattoe ditch; and moſt of theſe encamped near Omichund's garden, as a protection to the Nabob, who lay there; but much the greateſt part encamped between this ditch and the lake, overſpreading all the ground between, without method or order. A little before the dawn of day, the Engliſh line came upon their advanced guards, ſtationed in the ditches of that part of the high road which leads from the bridge at the head of the lake, to the Morattoe ditch. Theſe guards, after firing their matchlocks, and diſcharging ſome rockets, ran away: but one of the rockets ſtriking the cartouch-box of one of the Sepoys,

1757. February. ſet fire to the charges, which blowing up, communicated the miſchief to ſeveral others, and the dread of catching this fire threw the whole diviſion into confuſion: fortunately none of the enemy were at hand to take advantage of it, and Captain Coote, who marched at the head of the grenadiers, immediately in the rear of the Sepoys, rallied them; and reſtored the line of march. By this time it was daylight, when a very thick fog, peculiar to the mornings of this ſeaſon of the year in Bengal, began to overſpread the ground. The line proceeded without farther interruption, until they came oppoſite to Omichund's garden, when they heard the ſound of horſe coming upon them on the full gallop from the right; on which they halted. This cavalry was a body of Perſians excellently mounted, and ſtationed as an outguard to the Nabob, under that part of the Morattoe ditch, which encloſes Omichund's garden: they were ſuffered to come within thirty yards before the line gave fire, which fell heavy, and killing many of them, the reſt inſtantly diſperſed in great confuſion. The line then proceeded ſlowly, platoons conſtantly firing on either hand; whilſt the field-pieces in the rear fired ſingle balls forward, but obliquely outward, on each ſide of the line; but all without any immediate object; for the fog prevented any man from ſeeing beyond the ground on which he trod. About a mile to the ſouth of the garden is a narrow cauſeway, raiſed ſeveral feet above the level of the country, with a ditch on each ſide; it leads from the eaſt to the Morattoe ditch, and acroſs it into the company's territory. The enemy had barricaded the paſſage; which it was intended to force, and from thence to proceed, as it were, back again, along the high road adjoining to and on the inſide of the rampart, in order to attack the Nabob's quarters at the garden: but as ſoon as the firſt diviſion of Sepoys changed their former direction and began to march along the cauſeway, the field-pieces in the rear, on the right of the line, continuing to fire forward, killed ſeveral of them; upon which the whole diviſion ſought their ſafety in the ditch, on the other ſide of the cauſeway, and the troops who ſucceeded them croſſed it likewiſe, not knowing what to do. As ſoon as this was reported to Colonel Clive, he ordered the whole line to continue croſſing the cauſe-

cauſeway, but to halt immediately after they had paſſed it, intending to form them into ſome diſpoſition, proper to ſtorm the paſs; this brought the whole together into one irregular heap, and whilſt Colonel Clive was waiting for the return of two or three officers, whom he had ſent to examine the barricade, the troops were unexpectedly aſſailed by a diſcharge from two pieces of heavy cannon, loaded with langrain, and mounted within 200 yards, upon a ſmall baſtion of the Morattoe ditch, to the right of the barricade, which killed and diſabled 22 Europeans; another diſcharge ſoon followed, with leſs, but, however, with ſome effect. This annoyance inſtantly overſet the reſolution of ſtorming the paſs; and the line immediately began to extend itſelf again, as well to preſent the feweſt bodies to the cannonade, as to gain without delay a broad high road, which, about half a mile to the ſouth of the cauſeway, croſſes the Morattoe ditch into the company's territory, and then joins the avenue leading to the fort of Calcutta. But their progreſs was now continually retarded by the exceſſive labour and difficulty of tranſporting the field-pieces; for the ground between the cauſeway and the road was laid out in ſmall rice fields, each of which was encloſed by a ſeparate bank, ſo that the field-pieces could only be drawn along the ditches between the banks, and were therefore at every field in a different direction: ſometimes, likewiſe, it was neceſſary to raiſe them over the banks into the field, in order to repulſe the enemy's cavalry; who after nine o'clock, when the fog cleared, were diſcovered threatening to the left; ever and anon advancing ſo near, that it was neceſſary to detach platoons from the line to repulſe them. In the mean time the fire of the enemy's two pieces of cannon continued, and a quarter of a mile to the ſouth of theſe, two other pieces began likewiſe to annoy the line from the ſame rampart. At ten, after much fatigue and action, the troops, having abandoned two of the field-pieces, which had broken down, arrived, and formed in the high-road leading to the avenue, where a body of horſe and foot were poſted in front to defend the paſſage acroſs the Morattoe ditch. Several very large bodies of cavalry likewiſe aſſembled in the rear, acting with more courage than thoſe in

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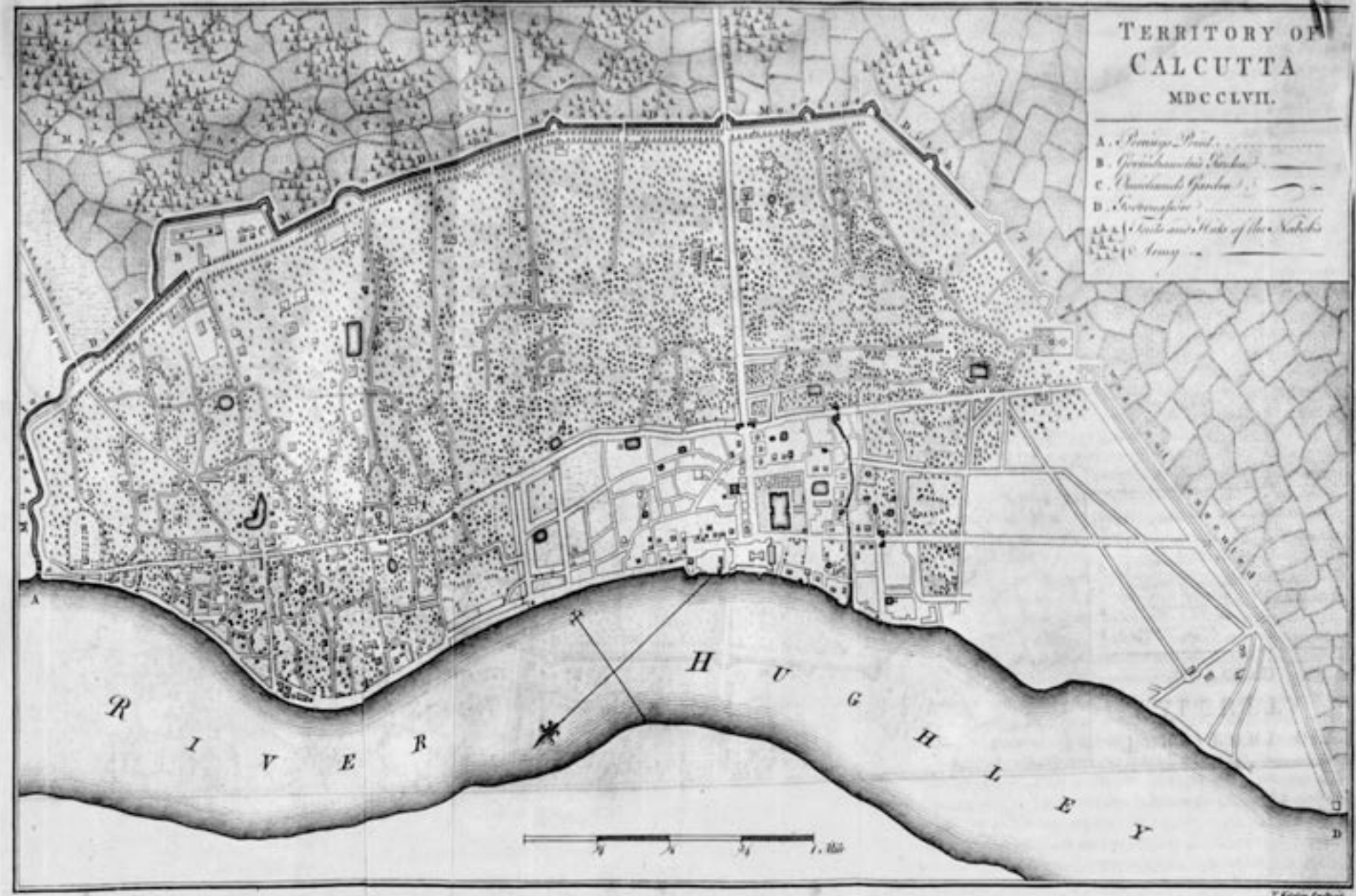
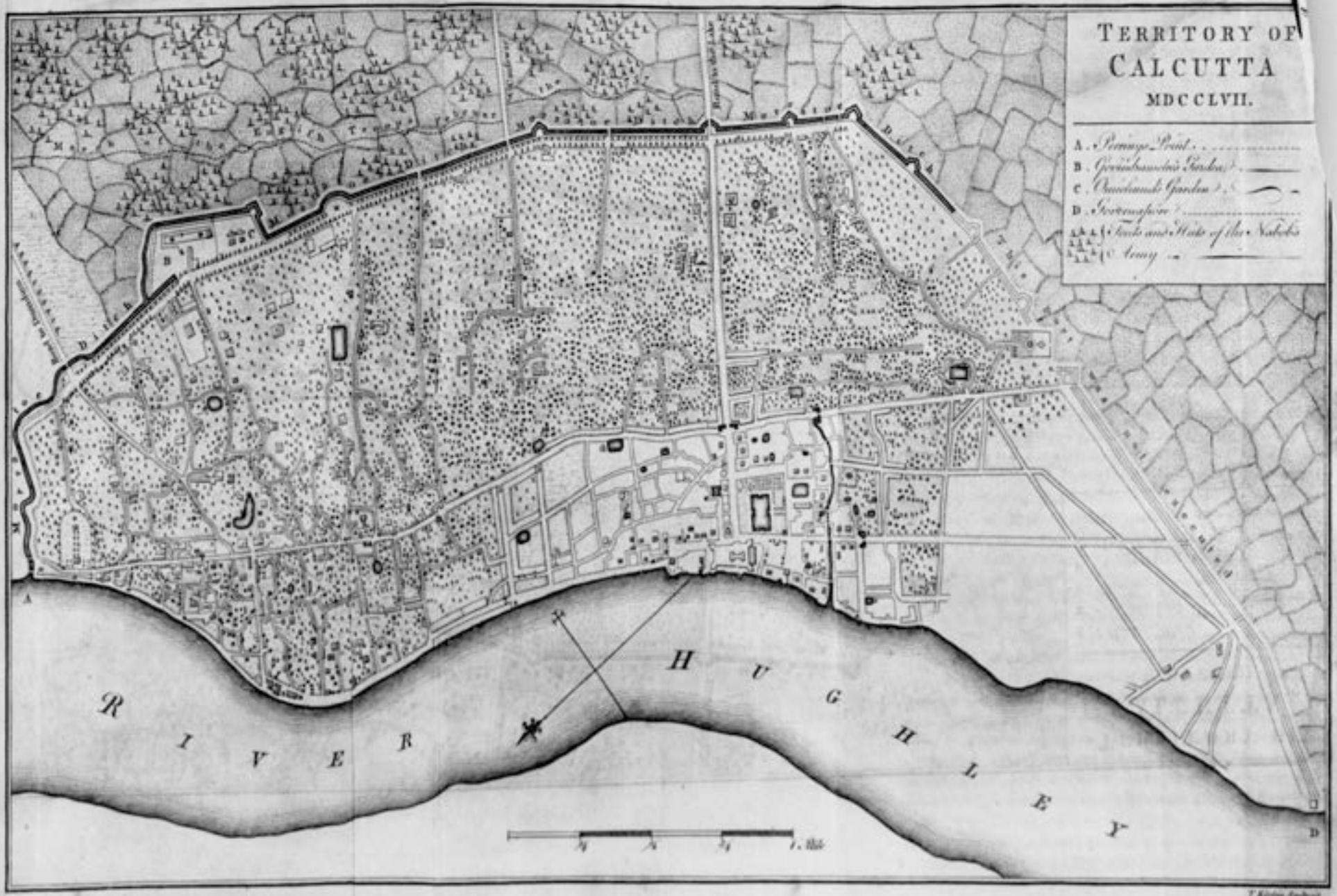
front, and preſſed hard upon one of the field-pieces, which was gallantly reſcued by Enſign Yorke, with a platoon of Adlercron's regiment. The fire of a few other platoons diſperſed the enemy in front; and the troops being now within the company's territory, might have proceeded along the road on the inſide of the ditch, quite up to Omichund's garden, where the Nabob ſtill remained, ſurrounded by a large body of cavalry; but Colonel Clive thinking that they had already endured too much fatigue, continued marching ſtreight along the avenue to the fort, where they arrived about noon. Twenty-ſeven of the battalion, 12 ſailors, and 18 Sepoys were killed, and 70 of the battalion, with 12 ſailors, and 35 Sepoys, were wounded; two captains of the Company's troops, Pye and Bridges, and Mr. Belcher, the ſecretary of Colonel Clive, were killed; Mr. Ellis, a factor, who with ſeveral other young men in the mercantile ſervice of the company, ſerved as a volunteer, loſt his leg by a cannon ball. The greateſt part of this miſchief was done by the four pieces of cannon from the rampart of the Morattoe ditch. In the evening the troops returned to their camp, paſſing through the town along the ſtreets neareſt to the river, and part of the way within a quarter of a mile of the ſtations of the enemy, who did not moleſt them.

The troops, officers as well as common men, diſpirited by the loſs which had been ſuſtained, and the riſques to which they had been expoſed, as they thought, to very little purpoſe, blamed their commander, and called the attempt raſh, and ill concerted. It was nevertheleſs neceſſary, as well to convince the enemy that their former inactivity did not proceed from fear, as becauſe the difficulty of obtaining proviſions increaſed every hour whilſt the Nabob remained ſo near Calcutta. But it was ill concerted; for the troops ought to have aſſembled at Perring's redoubt, which is not half a mile from Omichund's garden, to which they might have marched from the redoubt, in a ſpacious road, capable of admitting 12 or 15 men a-breaſt, on the left expoſed indeed to the annoyance of matchlocks from ſome encloſures, where, however, cavalry could not act; but their right would have been defended by the

rampart


TERRITORY OF
CALCUTTA
MDCCLVII.
A. Perrings Point
B. Govindramdis Garden
C. Omichands Garden
D. Governorsfore
Fouts and Works of the Nabobis
Army
RIVER HUGHLEY
A
D
1 Mile


TERRITORY OF
CALCUTTA
MDCCLVII.
A. Perrings Point
B. Govindramchis Garden
C. Omichunds Garden
D. Governmaphore
Tents and Huts of the Nabobs
Army
RIVER HUGHLEY
A
B
C
D

rampart of the Morattoe ditch, contiguous to which the road lies; and their only danger would have been in front, from onſets of cavalry, and the diſcharge of what pieces of cannon the enemy had got near the garden. 1757. February.

The Nabob's army was much more diſheartened than the Engliſh. They had loſt 22 officers of diſtinction, 600 common men, four elephants, 500 horſes, ſome camels, and a great number of bullocks. The Nabob himſelf having never before been ſo near the tumult of a battle, regarded the attack of his camp as an effort of uncommon intrepidity, accuſed all his own officers of cowardice, and would have immediately retreated out of the company's territory, had they not promiſed to be better prepared in future. Accordingly his whole army paſſed the ſucceeding night on the watch, firing cannon and muſketry until day-light, in order to encourage themſelves, and to deter the Engliſh from attacking them again.

The next morning Rungeet Roy, by the Nabob's order, wrote a letter to Colonel Clive, complaining of the hoſtilities which he had committed; but making propoſals of peace. To which Colonel Clive, in a letter to the Nabob himſelf, replied, that he had marched through his camp with no other intention than to convince him of what the Engliſh troops were capable, who, he ſaid, had cautiouſly hurt none, excepting ſuch as had oppoſed them; but that he was willing to renew the negotiation. The Nabob, inſtead of reſenting the ſcoff, ordered Rungeet Roy to continue the correſpondence; and under the pretence of acting conſiſtently with his profeſſions of peace, moved his whole army, and encamped about three miles to the north-eaſt of the lake. They paſſed in ſight of the Engliſh camp, and were again ſuffered to proceed without moleſtation.

Meſſages of negotiation continued, brought and carried by Omichund and Rungeet Roy; and, on the 9th of February, a treaty was concluded of the following purport: "The Nabob agreed to reſtore "the Company's factories, but only ſuch of the plundered effects "and monies as had been regularly brought to account in the books "of his government. He permitted the Engliſh to fortify Calcutta "in whatſoever manner they ſhould think expedient; allowed them

"to

1757. February. "to coin gold and ſilver in a mint of their own; exempted all "merchandizes paſſing with their *Duſtucks* or paſſports, from tax, "fee, or impoſition; permitted them to take poſſeſſion of the thirty-"eight villages, of which the grant had been obtained by the em-"baſſy in 1717, from the Emperor Furrukſhir; and in general "confirmed all the privileges which had been granted to them by "former emperors ever ſince their firſt arrival in the province." The oaths of the Nâbob, Meer Jaffier and Roydoolub, were the only pledges or ſecurity for the execution of the treaty.

On the 11th the Nabob removed a few miles farther to the north, and the next day ſent the uſual ſerpaws or preſents of dreſſes to Admiral Watſon and Colonel Clive, by Rungeet Roy and Omichund, and propoſed an alliance offenſive and defenſive againſt all enemies. This propoſal was accepted without heſitation, and the article ratified was ſent back the ſame day by Omichund, who was likewiſe intruſted by Colonel Clive to ſound if the Nabob would permit the Engliſh to attack the French ſettlement of Chandernagore; for there was time before the ſetting in of the ſouthern monſoon. The Nabob deteſted the idea; but, dreading an immediate renewal of hoſtilities, temporized; and pretending that Mr. Buſſy from the Decan, and a ſquadron from Pondicherry, were coming to Bengal, he requeſted that the Engliſh would prevent them from entering his dominions; and, as a farther diſguiſe, he requeſted 20 Engliſh gunners to ſerve in his own artillery; he likewiſe recommended, that Mr. Watts might be appointed the company's repreſentative at his court; chooſing him from a perſuaſion that he was a meek man, without guile. The next day he continued his march to Muxadavad, and Colonel Clive having received no poſitive injunction to the contrary from the Nabob, determined to proſecute the enterprize againſt Chandernagore. Accordingly, on the 18th, the Engliſh troops croſſed the river a few miles above Calcutta, and encamped on the oppoſite ſhore; but before this time the French had taken the alarm, and by repeated letters called on the Nabob, as he valued his own ſafety, to protect their ſettlement; their meſſengers found him juſt arrived at Augadeep, 40 miles ſouth of Muxadavad, where he halted,

and

and immediately wrote a letter, peremptorily commanding the Engliſh to deſiſt from their intention. 1757. February.

In the mean time Mr. Watts ſet out for Muxadavad, and with him were ſent the artillery-men requeſted by the Nabob; he was likewiſe accompanied by Omichund, whoſe conduct in the late negotiation had effaced the impreſſion of former imputations, inſomuch that Mr. Watts was permitted to conſult and employ him without reſerve on all occaſions. They ſtopped on the 18th near Hughley, where Omichund diſcovered that a meſſenger from the Nabob had arrived the day before with a preſent of 100,000 rupees to the government of Chandernagore; that the governor of Hughley, Nuncomar, had received orders to aſſiſt the French, in caſe the Engliſh ſhould attack them; and that a detachment of the Nabob's army was marching from Augadeep to reinforce the troops at Hughley; on which Omichund viſited Nuncomar, and by pompous repreſentations of the Engliſh force, by aſſurances of their protection and favour, and the promiſe of 12,000 rupees to be paid as ſoon as Chandernagore ſhould be taken, won him over to their intereſts; a ſtriking inſtance of the extreme venality which prevails even amongſt the higheſt ranks in Indoſtan; for the annual emoluments of the Phouſdar amounted to 250,000 rupees. On the 21ſt, Watts and Omichund arrived at Augadeep, when the Nabob immediately ſent for Omichund, and, expreſſing much indignation at the intention of the Engliſh to attack Chandernagore, commanded him to anſwer ſtrictly whether they intended to maintain, or to break, the treaty. Omichund told him that the Engliſh were famous throughout the world for their good faith; inſomuch that a man in England, who on any occaſion told a lye, was utterly diſgraced, and never after admitted to the ſociety of his former friends and acquaintance: then calling in a Bramin, who chanced to be attending near the tent, he put his hand on the Bramin's foot, a form of oath amongſt the Gentoos, and ſwore, that the Engliſh would never break the treaty. The Nabob, ſomething appeaſed by this ſolemn declaration, ſaid he would revoke the orders he had given to Meer Jaffier, to march with half the army to Chandernagore; and inſtructed Omichund to aſſure

1757. February. Colonel Clive, that the troops which had marched two days before, were not intended to aſſiſt the French. The next day he received a letter from Colonel Clive, aſſuring him that he would not commit hoſtilities againſt the French without his conſent; on which he continued his march to Muxadavad.

Nevertheleſs, Mr. Watts and Omichund did not deſpair of obtaining his permiſſion; and on their arrival at Muxadavad, practiſed with ſuch of the favourites and miniſters as could promote the ſucceſs of their applications. Their ſolicitations created much anxiety and agitation in the court, where the French, from various cauſes, had many friends. Monickchund, and ſeveral other officers of note, had ſhared largely of the ſpoil of Calcutta, and being convinced that nothing would render the Engliſh ſo formidable to the Nabob, as the reduction of Chandernagore, expected to be called upon to refund their plunder as ſoon as that event ſhould happen: Coja Wazeed managed the greateſt part of the French trade in Bengal with great profit to himſelf; and, to the *Seats* Mootabray and Roopchund, the government of Chandernagore was indebted a million and a half of rupees. Theſe various intereſts concurred in counteracting the practices and petitions of Mr. Watts and Omichund, and the remonſtrances of Colonel Clive. The Nabob encouraged all the intrigues which were employed on both ſides; and even often expreſſed himſelf to Mr. Watts and Omichund in terms which implied permiſſion; but every letter which he wrote to Colonel Clive, and ſcarce a day paſſed without one, poſitively forbade the attack. With theſe contradictions he kept the Engliſh councils in ſuſpence until the end of February, when he received intelligence that an army of Pitans had taken Delhi, and intended to conquer the eaſtern provinces of the empire. This news ſtuck him with ſo much conſternation, that he immediately diſpatched a letter to Colonel Clive, requeſting his aſſiſtance againſt this imaginary invaſion of his own dominions, and offered to allow a hundred thouſand rupees a month for the expences of the Engliſh troops.

The government of Chandernagore, at the ſame time that they were ſolliciting the protection of the Nabob, proſecuted their negotiation

tiation with the Engliſh at Calcutta, where the ſelect committee, having little hopes of obtaining the Nabob's conſent to attack them, conſented to a treaty of neutrality and pacification in Bengal, and agreed that it ſhould be guaranteed by the Nabob: but when all points ſeemed to be adjuſted, Mr. Watſon refuſed his concurrence, becauſe the act of Chandernagore was not obligatory on Pondicherry; whereas Calcutta treated without reference to a ſuperior power. Colonel Clive was at this time become more anxious than any one to conclude the treaty, and inſiſted, that Admiral Watſon ſhould either ratify it, or proceed immediately againſt Chandernagore, without waiting for the Nabob's conſent. The Admiral rejecting the alternative, altercations enſued, which delayed the execution of the treaty, until Clive received the Nabob's invitation to march to his aſſiſtance againſt the Pitans. On the ſame day a boat from Ingelee brought intelligence of the arrival of three ſhips from Bombay, under the command of Commodore James, which had on board three companies of infantry, and one of artillery, and that the Cumberland, of 74 guns, which had parted from the fleet in the paſſage from Madraſs, was arrived in the road of Ballaſore. With ſuch additions the Engliſh force was deemed capable of taking Chandernagore, although protected by the Nabob's army: Colonel Clive therefore immediately diſmiſſed the French deputies, who were then with him, waiting to ſign the treaty, which was even written out fair, and which they ſuppoſed had been intirely concluded: he at the ſame time wrote to the Nabob, that he would join him as ſoon as the news concerning the approach of the Pitans ſhould be verified, and that he ſhould in the mean time proceed as far as Chandernagore. Accordingly the troops quitted their encampment oppoſite to Calcutta on the 7th of March, while the artillery proceeded in boats, advancing ſlowly, that the Bombay detachment might have time to come up the river, before they entered the French limits. In the interval the Nabob was kept quiet by his dread of the Pitans, and the repreſentations of Nuncomar, who conſtantly aſſured him that the Engliſh had no hoſtile intentions. Nevertheleſs, Admiral Watſon refuſed to attack the French until the conſent of the Nabob was obtained; to whom,

1757. February.

March.

1757. March. however, he repreſented, that the government of Chandernagore little deſerved his favour, ſince they had made uſe of his name to ſanctify a treaty which they had no power to conclude; and complained at the ſame time, with ſome menaces, that he had neither made any reſtitution, nor accompliſhed any other part of his treaty with the Engliſh. The Nabob, perplexed with the angry ſtyle of Mr. Watſon's letter, made uſe of theſe words in his anſwer: "If "an enemy comes to you and implores your mercy with a clear "heart, his life ſhould be ſpared; but if you miſtruſt his ſincerity, "act according to the time and occaſion." This letter was ſcarcely diſpatched before his favourites made him change his mind, and write others poſitively forbidding the attack; but Mr. Watſon, conſidering this contradiction as an indignity, ordered the ſhips to move.

The ſettlement of Chandernagore, like that of Calcutta, conſiſted of a territory, a town inhabited by the natives, another by the French, and a fort. The territory, beginning from the ſouthern limits of the Dutch ſettlement of Chinchura, extended two miles along the bank of the river, and about one and a half inland. The fort was ſituated nearly at an equal diſtance, between the north and ſouth extremity of this territory, and about 30 yards from the river. It was a ſquare of about 130 yards, with four baſtions, each mounting 10 guns; ſeveral more were mounted in different parts of the ramparts, and eight upon a ravelin, which ſtood on the margin of the river, before the gateway of the weſtern curtain: all theſe were heavy cannon, from twenty-four to thirty-two pounders; and ſix of ſmaller calibre were planted on the terras of a church within the fort, which overlooked the walls. The French, after they received intelligence of the declaration of war, had begun to dig a ditch, had demoliſhed all the buildings which ſtood within 100 yards of the walls, and uſed the ruins to form a glacis; but neither the ditch nor the glacis were compleated: to ſupply theſe defects, they had erected ſeveral batteries without the verge of the glacis; one of three guns before the gate leading to Chinchura; another of four, in a high road leading from the weſtward to the north face of the fort: to the

ſouthward they had four batteries, three of which were in the principal ſtreets leading to the fort, and the other cloſe to the river, about 150 yards ſouth of the fort, commanded a narrow part of the channel, in which ſeveral ſhips had been ſunk, in order to ſtop the paſſage of the men of war. The garriſon conſiſted of 600 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys; but only 300 of the Europeans were regular troops, the reſt being inhabitants of the town and ſailors. They likewiſe expected the aſſiſtance of the troops belonging to Hughley, of which a part were already ſtationed within their bounds; but Nuncomar fulfilled his promiſe to Omichund, and recalled theſe troops as ſoon as the Engliſh appeared in ſight, alledging to the Nabob, that he had withdrawn them in order to preſerve the ſtandard of the province from the diſgrace to which it would inevitably have been expoſed, by aſſiſting the French againſt ſo ſuperior a force as that which was come to attack them. 1757. March.

The detachment from Bombay having joined, Colonel Clive commenced hoſtilities on the 14th of March. In order to avoid the oppoſition of the batteries in the ſouthern part of the town, the troops entered the French limits from the weſtward, along the high road leading to the north face of the fort; detachments from the garriſon were placed in the thickets on either hand, who ſkirmiſhed until three in the afternoon, and then retired to the battery in the road, which lay under command of the north-weſt baſtion. The Engliſh from ſeveral houſes near continued to fire upon the battery with their ſmall arms until night, when the enemy ſpiked up the cannon, and retreated into the fort. The deſertion of this battery rendered the other four to the ſouth, excepting that on the bank of the river, of no uſe, and expoſed them all to be taken in the rear, when the retreat of their guards to the fort would be cut off: to prevent which their guns and men were recalled early the next morning, before the Engliſh troops were in motion to intercept them. At noon the Engliſh army took poſſeſſion of the houſes neareſt to the ſouthern eſplanade, and under their ſhelter ſuffered very little from the fire of the garriſon. The 16th was employed in bringing up the artillery and ſtores, and the next day they began to fire muſketry from the

1757. March. the tops of the houſes, and to throw ſhells from ſome cohorns, and a thirteen inch-mortar; this annoyance continued on the 18th: the next day a battery was begun behind ſome ruins, oppoſite the ſouth face of the S. E. baſtion, and, at the ſame time, mounted three pieces of cannon on the enemy's battery cloſe to the river, turning them againſt the ſouth flank and face of the north-eaſt baſtion: this day the ſhips, Kent, Tyger, and Saliſbury, arrived from Calcutta, and anchored about a mile below the fort. The navigation had been extremely difficult, but conducted with extreme precaution and ſkill by Captain Speke, who commanded the Kent. On the 20th the fire from the fort ſilenced the three guns on the battery cloſe to the river, and on the 21ſt they beat down a houſe near the other, the ruins of which buried ſome men, none of whom, however, were mortally hurt. The next day this battery was compleated, and the other repaired: not more than 20 men, Europeans and Sepoys, had been killed and wounded in all theſe operations. In the mean time the narrow channel between the ſhips and the fort had been diligently ſounded, and it was found that the veſſels which were intended to obſtruct their paſſage, had not been ſunk in the proper place. Every thing being ready on ſhore, it was determined to attack with the ſhips the next day; and, indeed, no time was to be loſt; for the Nabob finding himſelf deceived, had continually diſpatched meſſengers, of whom ſix arrived in one day, with letters commanding the Engliſh in very imperious and menacing terms to diſcontinue the attack; he had likewiſe ſent forward a part of his army under the command of Roydoolub, who, having advanced within twenty miles of Hughley, halted in conſequence of the repreſentations of Nuncomar, aſſuring him that the French would ſurrender before he could arrive to their aſſiſtance.

During this interval, the Cumberland, in which Admiral Pocock hoiſted his flag, arrived at Ingelee. After ſtriking on the ſand off Point Palmyras, ſhe plied ten days againſt the wind and currents in vain to get round, when the great number of ſick on board, amounting to 266, determined Mr. Pocock to bear away for refreſhment to Vizagapatam, where he found the ſettlement in fears, not ill founded,

founded, of being attacked by M. Buſſy; and landed ninety of the Company's troops, to reinforce their garriſon. From hence, as the currents ſtill continued ſtrong from the Norward, he ſailed for intelligence to Madraſs, where, at the requeſt of the preſidency, he landed the reſt, one hundred more, and received the ſame number of ſailors belonging to the ſquadron, which had recovered in the hoſpital. There ſtill remained on board 90 rank and file, who were of Adlercron's regiment, and they returned with the ſhip to Ingelee, where the report from Calcutta ſignified, that the three other men of war with Admiral Watſon were proceeding from thence to Chandernagore, of which the attack might be expected every day. There was no time to carry the ſhip up the river; for the pilotage at this ſeaſon requires ſeveral; nor were any boats ſent down to convey the troops with their accoutrements; on which Mr. Pocock, with a ſpirit worthy of an Engliſh admiral, took the Cumberland's barge, and rowing night and day, joined Mr. Watſon a few hours before the morning of the attack, and immediately hoiſted his flag in the Tyger. 1757. March.

This ſhip was appointed to attack the N. E. baſtion of the fort, the Kent againſt the ravelin before the middle of the curtain, the Saliſbury againſt the S. E. baſtion. At ſun-riſe the two batteries on ſhore began to fire, the one againſt the S. E. baſtion with twenty-four pounders, the other againſt the N. E. with three; to which the enemy's fire was much ſuperior until ſeven o'clock; when the Tyger coming oppoſite to the ravelin, before the gateway, her firſt broadſide obliged the enemy to abandon that defence; after which ſhe proceeded, and anchored at the diſtance of 50 yards, directly oppoſite to the N. E. baſtion. The Kent ſoon after let go her anchor oppoſite to the ravelin, but in this inſtant, the fire from the fort killed and wounded ſeveral of the ſailors appointed to manage the ſhip, and a ſhot unfortunately diſabled the commander, Captain Speke; who not being able to continue the directions he intended to give, ſo much confuſion enſued, that the cable, not ſtopped in time, ran out to its end; and the ſhip, inſtead of anchoring oppoſite to the ravelin, fell back ſo far, that her poop appeared beyond the S. E. baſtion, expoſed

1757. March.

likewiſe to a flank of the baſtion on the s. w. The enemy, elated with this advantage, kept up ſo hot a fire, that Admiral Watſon, inſtead of attempting to recover his intended ſtation, determined to decide the conteſt where his ſhip lay, which occupying the poſt intended for the Saliſbury, this ſhip anchored 150 yards lower down the river, and remained out of the action, which was maintained entirely by the Kent and Tyger. The cannonade was fierce, every ſhot on both ſides took place; and, at the ſame time, the two batteries on ſhore aſſailed with a croſs fire the two baſtions of the fort, againſt which the ſhips directed their broad-ſides. At nine o'clock, the fort ſhewed a flag of truce, and Mr. Watſon, not to let the enemy ſee the condition of his ſhip, ſent Captain Coote, of the King's regiment aſhore to receive their propoſals; and whilſt meſſages were paſſing concerning the terms of ſurrender, 50 of the beſt ſoldiers of the garriſon, with 20 Topaſſes, and ſeveral officers, quitted the fort, and marched to the northward. At three in the afternoon the capitulation was concluded.

During this action, the Saliſbury received only ſome ſtraggling ſhot, which did little damage, and the fort received as little from her fire. In the Tyger, the maſter and 14 others were killed, and 56 wounded: the Kent received ſix ſhot in her maſts, and 142 in her hull; the firſt lieutenant Mr. Perrot, and 18 of the crew, were killed, and 72 wounded. Amidſt this ſlaughter, it was a general conſolation that the wound of Captain Speke was not mortal, whoſe enterprizing ſpirit, and nautical abilities, had eminently contributed to the ſucceſſes of this ſquadron in India: the ſame ball, which ſtruck the calf of his leg, carried off the thigh of his ſon, a youth of promiſing hopes, who died of this diſaſter. Of the Engliſh troops on ſhore, only one man was killed, and 10 wounded, during this laſt attack; but the fire of their batteries, and of their muſketry from the tops of the houſes, haſtened the ſurrender of the fort, in which 40 men were killed and 70 wounded. The defence was gallant, more eſpecially as none of the garriſon, excepting a few of the officers, had ever before been in ſervices of danger: Mr. Devignes, a Captain of one of the French company's ſhips, commanded the baſtions,

baſtions, and inſpired his own activity and courage into all who ſerved under him. The immediate reduction of the fort was owing to the ſhips, and of them, only to the two in which the two Admirals hoiſted their flags, whoſe fire did as much execution in three hours, as the batteries on ſhore would have done in ſeveral days; during which the whole of the Nabob's army might have arrived, when the ſiege muſt have been raiſed: otherwiſe the troops alone were ſufficient to accompliſh the ſuccaſs. 1757. March.

At the ſame time that the Nabob heard of the ſurrender of Chandernagore, he received more poſitive, but ſtill falſe, intelligence from Patna, that the army of Pitans, againſt whom he had aſked the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh troops, were in full march to invade the province of Behar, and that they had engaged Balagerow, the general of the Morattoes, to invade Bengal. Frightened by this intelligence he wrote letters of congratulation to Admiral Watſon and Colonel Clive, expreſſing the ſtrongeſt deſire to remain in friendſhip and alliance with them, and offered the territory of Chandernagore to the Engliſh on the ſame terms as it had been held by the French Company; but he ordered the diviſion of his army, which had marched with Roydulub, to continue at Plaſſy on the Iſland of Coſſimbuzar, 30 miles to the South of Muxadavad. This guard did not accord with his profeſſions; and it was determined to try the ſincerity of them by requeſting him to give up all the other French factories and ſubjects remaining in his dominions. Nothing could be more repugnant to his intentions; for he had ordered his officers to protect the ſoldiers of Chandernagore, who had left the fort during the attack; and by this aſſiſtance they had eſcaped an Engliſh detachment ſent in purſuit of them, and were arrived ſafe at Coſſimbuzar: however, he anſwered Colonel Clive with much civility, though with inconſiſtent excuſes; alledging, that as a prince he could not perſecute the diſtreſſed, and as a feudatory of the great Mogul he could not contribute to the deſtruction of Europeans, who were eſtabliſhed in the province by the permiſſion of ſo many Emperors; as if the ſame reaſons ought not to have prevented him

1757. March. from deſtroying Calcutta. But leſt theſe evaſions ſhould create ſuſpicions, he began to reſtore part of the Engliſh effects, and paid 450,000 rupees in money.

In the mean time, the captors collected the plunder of Chandernagore, which amounted to 100,000l. ſterling. The ſhips returned to Calcutta, where the Kent, infirm before, was condemned as unfit for future ſervice. The ſeaſon was by this time ſo far advanced, that the other ſhips could not get out to ſea before the ſouthern monſoon ſet in. The troops might indeed have been ſent to the coaſt of Cormondel, if they had been embarked, immediately after Chandernagore was taken, on ſeveral veſſels, which were ready to ſail at that time. But Colonel Clive determined, contrary to the orders of Madraſs, to remain in Bengal with the whole army until the month of September; being convinced that the Nabob would never fulfil the terms of the treaty of February, unleſs conſtrained by fear. He therefore, inſtead of leading the army back to Calcutta, encamped on the plain to the north of Hughley, where it was better ſituated either to awe or to act againſt the Nabob.

In this interval Mr. Law, the chief of the French factory at Coſſimbuzar, had perſuaded the Nabob that a fleet of 40 French ſhips were attacking Bombay. The Nabob elated by this ſuppoſition returned to his former equivocations concerning the treaty. On which Colonel Clive wrote to him, that nothing but his permiſſion to attack the French at Coſſimbuzar could convince the Engliſh that he bore the good will of an ally towards them, and that his dignity might be preſerved by aſſiſting neither ſide. This letter provoked him to exceſs, and amongſt other extravagancies, he ſaid publickly, he would put Mr. Watts to death. But ſoon recollecting the imprudence of this threat; and being as anxious to prevent the Engliſh troops from advancing towards his capital, as he was ſolicitous to preſerve the French for future contingencies, he furniſhed Mr. Law with money, arms, and ammunition, and ordered him to march with all his men, as if proceeding to the weſtern frontiers of Behar; but in expectation of being ſoon recalled to Muxadavad. Accordingly this body of adventurers, conſiſting of 100 Europeans, and

60 Coromandel Sepoys, with 30 ſmall carriages, and four elephants, paſſed through the city in military array on the 16th of April, and having croſſed the river, proceeded towards Behar. This evaſion however deceived nobody. And Colonel Clive prepared to ſend a detachment in purſuit of them. 1757. April.

The report of the detachment renewed the indignation of the Nabob; he immediately ordered the Engliſh Vacqueel to quit his preſence, and to appear no more at the palace, and ſent two of his officers to Mr. Watts, propoſing this alternative; "either that he "ſhould immediately return to Calcutta; or give an aſſurance under "his hand, that the Engliſh ſhould make no further attempts to "moleſt the French." Mr. Watts refuſed either to retire, or to give the aſſurance, and obtained leave to conſult the preſidency, who ordered him to ſend what treaſure and effects he had collected to Calcutta, as opportunities might offer, but without ſeeming either to fear or to intend miſchief: Colonel Clive alſo detached 40 Europeans to protect the factory, and ſent in ſeveral boats a ſupply of ammunition concealed under rice.

By this time the mutual ſuſpicions between the Nabob and the Engliſh were ſo much increaſed, that Colonel Clive thought a rupture inevitable, and even neceſſary. He therefore perſiſted in his reſolution of ſending a detachment in purſuit of Mr. Law; and having received information that Meer Jaffier, the general of the army, was offended againſt the Nabob, he adviſed Mr. Watts to cultivate his friendſhip.

The ſpirit of rebellion had for ſome time been lurking in the court of Surajah Dowlah; he had impriſoned Monickchund, and upon releaſing, had obliged him to pay a million of rupees as a fine for the effects he had plundered in Calcutta. The Duan Roydoolub, although the firſt civil officer in the ſtate, found his conduct ſubject to the controul of the favourite Moonlol. To the Seats, the Nabob behaved with civility; but they, accuſtomed to the confidence and good ſenſe of Allaverdy, trembled for their wealth, under the caprices of his ſucceſſor; and they had long been connected with

1757. April. Meer Jaffier, who, although he deſpiſed the wretched character of Surajah Dowlah, dreaded the exceſſes of it.

Mr. Watts communicated with Omichund on the ſtate of tempers and reſentments; and they admitted Mr. Scrafton to their councils, who came at this time to Muxadavad in his way to Dacca, and was inſtructed by Colonel Clive to obſerve, whilſt he remained there. Omichund with his uſual buſtle attended every day at the Durbar, and was as aſſiduous in his viſits to the principal officers of the government.

On the 23d of April an officer named Yar Khan Latty, by a private meſſage, requeſted to confer with Mr. Watts in ſecrecy. This man commanded 2000 horſe in the Nabob's ſervice, but received a ſtipend from the *Seats* to defend them upon any occaſion of danger even againſt the Nabob himſelf. It is therefore probable that he was now employed by the *Seats* to diſcover the real intentions of the Engliſh towards the Nabob. Mr. Watts ſent Omichund, whom Latty informed, "that the Nabob would very ſoon march with the "greateſt part of his forces towards Patna, againſt the Pitans; and "that he intended to temporize with the Engliſh until his return to "Muxadavad; when he had determined to extirpate them out of "his dominions, into which he had ſworn that they ſhould never "return; that moſt of his officers held him in utter deteſtation, "and were ready to join the firſt leader of diſtinction who ſhould "take arms; that the Engliſh army might, during his abſence, take "poſſeſſion of Muxadavad; and that he, Latty, with his own troops, "would join them in the attempt; when if they would proclaim "him Nabob, he ſhould be ſupported by Roydoolub, and the *Seats*; "he offered in return to enter into any engagements which the "Engliſh ſhould ſtipulate for the advantage of their own affairs." Mr. Watts approved the ſcheme, and communicated it to Colonel Clive, who approving it likewiſe, immediately countermanded the detachment which was ready to march in purſuit of Mr. Law, and wrote a very civil letter to the Nabob.

The day after the conference between Omichund and Latty, Petrus the Armenian, who had been employed between the Nabob and the Engliſh

Engliſh in February, came to Mr. Watts with the ſame propoſals from Meer Jaffier as had been made by Latty. Meer Jaffier declared, 1757. April.
" that ſelf-defence obliged him to arm, being in danger of aſſaſſi-
" nation every time he went to the Durbar; that the Duan Roy-
" doolub, the *Seats*, and ſeveral officers of the firſt rank in the
" army, whom he named, had engaged to join, if the Engliſh would
" aſſiſt in dethroning the Nabob: if the ſcheme were accepted, he
" deſired that the terms of the confederacy might be ſettled without
" delay, and requeſted that Colonel Clive would immediately break
" up his camp, and ſooth the Nabob with every appearance of pa-
" cific intentions until hoſtilities ſhould commence."

The ſuperior importance of Jaffier gave him the preference over every other pretender who might offer; and as ſoon as Clive received intelligence of his overtures, he went from the camp to Calcutta, and communicated them to the ſelect committe, of which he was himſelf a member. The committee accepted the alliance as the moſt fortunate event which could happen, and inſtructed Mr. Watts what terms to ſtipulate: they were all very advantageous, but one eminently ſo, demanding a reſtitution in money adequate to all the loſſes which had ſuſtained by the Company and individuals by the capture of Calcutta. This council was held on the firſt of May. The next day Colonel Clive returned to the camp, which, in compliance with the requeſt of Meer Jaffier, he immediately broke up; ſending one half of the troops to Calcutta, and the reſt into the fort of Chandernagore. He then requeſted the Nabob to give the ſame proof of pacific intentions by withdrawing the large diviſion of his army, which ſtill lay encamped at Plaſſy, under the command of Roydoolub.

But in this interval the Nabob had been relieved from his fears of the Pitans by intelligence of their retreat from Delhi, which made him leſs ſollicitous to temporize with the Engliſh, and Roydoolub had ſtopped at Cutwah the detachment of 40 Europeans going to Coſſimbuzar; the ſpy, Mooteram, who had been ſent under pretence of ſome compliment to Colonel Clive, gave information, that half the Engliſh army had been privately detached in ſmall parties from the camp,

1757. April. camp, and were at this very time ſecreted in the factory at Coſſimbuzar. The Nabob believing this intelligence, ſent a mob of ſervants and troops to examine the factory, where they found only eight Topaſſes and 40 Europeans, of which ſome were French deſerters, and the reſt were the Engliſh gunners whom he had borrowed for the ſervice of his own artillery, and had lately returned. Nevertheleſs his ſuſpicions that the Engliſh intended to move towards Muxadavad continued, and induced him to reconcile himſelf with Meer Jaffier; whom he ordered to proceed immediately with 15,000 men, to reinforce Roydoolub at Plaſſey. Believing, likewiſe, that the Engliſh ſhips of war could proceed up the great arm of the Ganges to the northern point of the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, and then come down the Coſſimbuzar river to Muxadavad, he commanded large piles to be fixed acroſs the river at Sootey, about 20 miles above the city. Such was his extreme ignorance. He at the ſame time ordered Mr. Law to remain with his men at Boglipore, half way between the paſs of Tacriagully and Patna; and his officers in Behar were inſtructed to ſupply all their wants.

In this conjuncture Meer Jaffier, fearing that by a refuſal to proceed to Plaſſy, he ſhould turn the Nabob's ſuſpicions upon himſelf, obeyed with appearance of alacrity, and marched from the city on the 29th of April, but left his agent to carry on the correſpondence with Mr. Watts; who, to remove as much as poſſible all ſuſpicious appearances, ordered the detachment which had been ſtopped at Cutwah to return to Calcutta; he at the ſame time diſpatched Mr. Scrafton to the ſelect committee, and on the 6th of May received their reſolutions concerning the treaty with Jaffier, when, in concert with Jaffier's agent, whom we ſuppoſe to be ſtill the Armenian Petrus, they eſtabliſhed poſitive ſums to the articles, ſtipulating monies. The rains detained the agent in the city until the 12th, when he went to Plaſſy, and returned on the 14th, with aſſurances, that Meer Jaffier intirely conſented to all the articles; but requeſted that the confederacy might be kept ſecret from Omichund, whom he regarded as an intriguing Gentoo without fortitude or honeſty.

This opinion was probably ſuggeſted to him by the *Seats*, who knew the abilities of Omichund, and might apprehend that his influence with the Engliſh would interfere with their own, if he ſhould have a leading part in the intended revolution. This reſtraint very much perplexed Mr. Watts: for Omichund had already been truſted too far, to be now treated with diffidence, without much riſque to the ſcheme, if he ſhould by other means diſcover the real cauſe, why no farther attention was had to the propoſals of Yar Khan Lattee. Mr. Watts ſoon found, that ſuch evaſions as men in his ſituation generally employ, could not elude his ſagacity, and therefore told him the confederacy with Jaffier; but had delayed this confidence ſo long, that Omichund ſaw it was extorted by fear and neceſſity. From this hour implacable hatred aroſe between them, although they co-operated in the conduct of the confederacy. 1757. May.

From his own experience of the practices of Indoſtan, Omichund had no doubt that Mr. Watts would be amply rewarded by Jaffier, if the revolution ſucceeded. At the ſame time he found that no advantage was intended for himſelf, more than reſtitution in common with the other Gentoo merchants of Calcutta, but that he ſhould run the ſame riſques of his perſon as Mr. Watts, which to both were great indeed; and more of his fortune, as being much greater than Mr. Watts's: he therefore claimed a commiſſion of five in the hundred on all the Nabob's treaſures in money, and a fourth part of his jewels. The common people, to whom numbers give no diſtinct ideas, rated them at 45 millions of pounds ſterling, which nothing but idiotiſm could believe; but better enquirers ſuppoſed them to be four millions and a half; on which Omichund's ſhare would have been 675,000 pound ſterling. The audacity of the pretenſion implied malignant art; but it is ſaid he threatened to reveal the conſpiracy to the Nabob, if not complied with. If ſo, the boldeſt iniquity could not go farther. Mr. Watts in his letter on this ſubject intimates, that he had ſome apprehenſions of ſuch a conſequence if Omichund were not ſatisfied. However, in their conference he evaded a poſitive

1757. May. ſitive anſwer, and Omichund was contented by the promiſe of referring his claim to the ſelect committee.

On the 14th he ſent the articles of the treaty, as finally ſettled by himſelf, and accepted by Meer Jaffier, and communicated two other inſtances of Omichund's improbity. The one was, "that "ſoothed by the ſeeming acquieſcence of Mr. Watts to his claim "of commiſſion and a ſhare of the jewels, he had been led to de- "clare that he intended to ſecrete as much as he could of the "Nabob's treaſures from the knowledge of Meer Jaffier, and "to divide this booty with Roydoolub." The other accuſation came from Rungeet Roy, the agent of the *Seats*. "When the "Nabob concluded the treaty of the 6th of February, he em- "powered Omichund and Rungeet Roy to offer 30 thouſand "gold *mohurs*, a coin equivalent to 29 ſhillings, as a preſent to the "Engliſh commanders, and promiſed moreover 200,000 rupees to "be diſpoſed of, as Omichund ſhould think proper; who adviſed "Rungeet Roy to make no mention of the preſent at that time, "and promiſed to divide the 200,000 rupees with him. Rungeet "Roy, impatient to receive his ſhare, had frequently preſſed "the Nabob to ſend the preſent to the Engliſh commanders, and "to iſſue the other money to Omichund. But the Nabob, irritated "by the late proceedings of the Engliſh, and ſafe in his capital, "was no longer inclined to confer ſo coſtly a favour, in every re- "ſpect to his own detriment. Omichund obſerved this repugnance, "and turned it to his own advantage, by telling the Nabob, that "he would be obliged to make the preſent, if he ſuffered Rungeet "Roy to interfere any longer in the Engliſh affairs; but that he "might ſave it, by diſgracing him. The Nabob accordingly with- "held himſelf from any farther communication with Rungeet Roy, "but rewarded Omichund, with orders for the delivery of many of "his confiſcated effects. Mr. Watts, deſirous to put the truth of "theſe informations to the teſt, aſked Omichund if he ſhould de- "mand the 30,000 gold rupees from the Nabob; to which Omi- "chund replied, that ſuch a requeſt would be very improper at this "time, but that he would himſelf conſider of means to get it."

A ſtranger, named Govindroy, came on the 3d of May to Calcutta, with a letter as from Ballajerow, the general of the Morattoes, dated from Hyderabad, the capital of Golcondah. In this letter Ballajerow offered to invade Bengal with a hundred and twenty thouſand men, within ſix weeks after he ſhould receive the invitation of the Engliſh governor. No mutual intereſts of great importance ſubſiſting at this time between the Engliſh and the Morattoes, the letter and the bearer were ſuſpected of impoſture. The man was queſtioned, but none in the ſettlement had ſufficient criterions to diſtinguiſh whether his anſwers were pertinent. Mr. Watts was conſulted, and regarded the letter as an artifice invented by the Nabob to try the real diſpoſition of the Engliſh towards himſelf, by their anſwer to Ballajerow. Clive, with his uſual facility of finding expedients in difficulties, adviſed the committee to communicate the letter to the Nabob with the ſemblance of believing its authenticity; whereby, ſhould he have invented it, the artifice would be turned againſt himſelf; and if he had not, no better means could be employed to deceive the ſuſpicions which he entertained of their evil intentions. 1757. May.

This reſolution was taken on the 17th of May, and at the ſame conſultation the committee deliberated on the final terms they ſhould require of Meer Jaffier, and on the conduct they ſhould hold towards Omichund; having before them the treaty as modelled by Mr. Watts, and his letters concerning Omichund. The terms which Mr. Watts had ſtipulated for reſtitution were, to the Company 10 millions of rupees, to the Engliſh and other European inhabitants three millions, to the Gentoos three, to the Armenians one: in all 17 millions of rupees. Three millions were likewiſe mentioned for Omichund; of which we ſuppoſe Mr. Watts had informed him.

The committee really believed the wealth of Surajah Dowlah much greater than it poſſibly could be, even if the whole life of the late Nabob Aliverdy had not been ſpent in defending his own dominions againſt the invaſions of ruinous enemies: and even if Surajah Dowlah himſelf had reigned many, inſtead of only one year. In this perſuaſion they increaſed the reſtitution to Europeans from

1757. May. three to five millions of rupees; but allotted only two inſtead of three millions to the Gentoos, and only 700,000 inſtead of one million to the Armenians. But theſe alterations added only 700,000 rupees to the total of the ſums ſtipulated by Mr. Watts for reſtitution. It was then agreed to aſk a donation of 2,500,000 rupees to the ſquadron, and the ſame ſum to the army. A member then propoſed that it ſhould be recommended to Mr. Watts, to aſk a donation from Meer Jaffier to each of the members of the committee; and this likewiſe was reſolved.

They then took into conſideration what conduct they ſhould hold towards Omichund; they were aſtoniſhed at the enormity of his demands, and ſtill more exaſperated at the imputed atrocity of his intentions in caſe of diſappointment; and determined that he ſhould get nothing by the revolution more than reſtitution in common with the other Gentoo merchants of Calcutta; but at the ſame time they deſigned to make him believe that they intended to reward his ſervices. The expedient was ſuggeſted by Colonel Clive. It was, to ſend two treaties, both ſigned by Admiral Watſon and the members of the committee, and in the treaty which was to be delivered to Meer Jaffier, to omit any ſtipulation for Omichund; but, in the fictitious treaty which was to be ſhewn to Omichund, to inſert an article ſtipulating for him a preſent of two million of rupees.

Theſe reſolutions being taken, it became neceſſary that ſome perſon deputed from the committee ſhould confer with Meer Jaffier; but, as he lay encamped at Plaſſy, it was difficult to effect this without raiſing ſuſpicions in the Nabob. It was therefore reſolved that Colonel Clive ſhould write to the Nabob, that he had ſent Mr. Scrafton, in order to communicate a matter of great ſecrecy and importance, which was the Morattoe letter brought by Govindroy. Mr. Scrafton was inſtructed to ſtop at Plaſſy, and to make a viſit, as of ceremony, to Meer Jaffier, whom he was to inform of the purport of the treaty, and of the other requeſts, and to obtain his aſſent to them; he was likewiſe to explain to him the manner in which the committee were acting towards Omichund; and finally

finally to adjuſt a plan of operations for the ſubſequent conduct of the revolution. 1757. May.

Colonel Clive undertook to get the treaties prepared with due ſecrecy. The fictitious was tranſcribed upon red paper. But the agent of Meer Jaffier having inſiſted that the King's Admiral ſhould ſign, as well as the company's repreſentatives; and Omichund knowing this, it was neceſſary to the ſcheme of deceiving him, that Mr. Watſon ſhould ſign both. He ſigned the real, but refuſed to ſign the fictitious treaty; on which his ſignature was counterfeited.

On the 19th of May, Clive diſpatched the treaties by a private meſſenger of the country; but, in this ſhort interval, either ſome intelligence from Muxadavad, or his own reflections, changed his notions of the vaſtneſs of Surajah Dowlah's treaſures: and he inſtructed Mr. Watts, that if Meer Jaffier ſhould diſapprove of the great amount of the ſtipulations for money, the reſtitution allotted for the company might be reduced from ten to five millions of rupees.

Mr. Scrafton was ſtopped near Plaſſy by the advanced guards of the camp; he requeſted to be conducted to the quarters of Meer Jaffier; but ſome of the Nabob's ſpies being preſent, they interfered, and inſiſted that he ſhould take the direct road to the capital, where he arrived on the 24th. In the interval between Mr. Watts's letters of the 6th, and Mr. Scrafton's return to Muxadavad, the crafty Omichund had practiſed another trick on the credulity of the Nabob; for, perceiving by his queſtions that his ſuſpicions of the Engliſh increaſed, although he had diſcovered nothing of their project, Omichund, after much artificial heſitation, informed him, as a diſcovery by which he riſqued all his pretenſions to the favours of the Engliſh, that they had lately ſent deputies to Mr. Buſſy in the Decan, inviting him to march into Bengal, and propoſing that both armies ſhould join in dethroning him, when the ſpoil was to be equally divided between them. A little knowledge and underſtanding would have convinced the Nabob, that ſuch an union was im-

1757. May. practicable during the war between the two nations, and that it would at any time be incompatible with the intereſt of the Engliſh: nevertheleſs his timidity prompted him to give intire credit to the tale, and he rewarded Omichund for the intelligence, by ordering the ſum of 400,000 rupees, which had been taken from his houſe at Calcutta, to be immediately reſtored to him, together with all his effects, whereſoever confiſcated in the province: he moreover gave him a mandate, ordering the Rajah of Burdawan to repay 450,000 rupees, which Omichund had lent the Rajah ſome years before. At this time Omichund was not certain what proviſion might be made for himſelf in the treaty, and was endeavouring to get all he could from the Nabob clandeſtinely, but without any poſitive intention of undermining the confederacy; for nothing was more likely than his fallacy concerning Buſſy to divert the Nabob from any ſuſpicions of the real deſigns and connexions in which the Engliſh were engaged: but nothing, at the ſame time, was more likely to prevent him from removing his army from Plaſſy, which was deemed abſolutely neceſſary to their ſucceſs.

As ſoon as Mr. Scrafton arrived at Muxadavad, Mr. Watts went with him to the Nabob, to whom Mr. Scrafton delivered a letter from Colonel Clive, which, amongſt others, had the following ſubtle expreſſions. "I have ſent Mr. Scrafton to communicate a matter of "the greateſt importance. Notwithſtanding all that the Engliſh "have ſuffered from you, I give you this laſt proof of my deſire to "live in peace with you. Why do you keep your army in the field? "They diſtreſs all the merchants, and prevent us from renewing "our trade. The Engliſh cannot ſtay in Bengal without freedom of "trade. Do not reduce us to ſuſpect that you intend to deſtroy us "whenſoever you have an opportunity." Mr. Scrafton then communicated the Morattoe letter, at which the Nabob ſeemed much pleaſed; for he had heard of the arrival, and ſuſpected the buſineſs of the meſſenger, who really came from Ballajerow. After ſome pauſe, ruminating on the variety of informations on which he was to form his opinion, he pretended to be convinced that he had ſuſpected the

the good faith of the Engliſh without cauſe: and diſmiſſed Mr. Watts and Scrafton with an aſſurance that he would immediately recall the troops under the command of Meer Jaffier into the city, but would leave thoſe with Roydoolub in the field, in readineſs to join the Engliſh on the approach of the Morattoes: who he ſaid would probably invade his dominions. This unexpected reſolution would have marred the ſcheme, ſince Meer Jaffier would have been as cautious of concluding any thing deciſive, whilſt one half, as whilſt the whole of the army remained in the field. At the next conference Mr. Scrafton repreſented to him, that the Engliſh could not, with common prudence, rely on any of his profeſſions, whilſt ſuch a part of his forces were encamped towards Calcutta. The Nabob meditated ſome time on this argument, and then ſtarting, as a man agitated by ſuſpicion and diſmay, ſaid eagerly, "But ſhould the "Colonel deceive me." But Scrafton removed his terrors by aſſurances, and prevailed on him to iſſue orders recalling his whole army to Muxadavad. 1757. May.

The nearer the confederacy approached to the event, the more did Mr. Watts's apprehenſions of the treachery of Omichund increaſe. Mr. Scrafton therefore undertook to get him away to Calcutta, and under the pretext of ſolicitude for his ſafety, propoſed that Omichund ſhould accompany him thither without delay, alledging, that his age and the habits of his life would not permit him to make his eſcape on horſeback in the hour of confuſion and danger, when the flight of Mr. Watts would convince the Nabob that the Engliſh intended war, and when his utmoſt vengeance would be excited againſt all their adherents. But avarice is the moſt inflexible of the vices; and Omichund, not having received more than half of his plundered money from the treaſury, requeſted Mr. Scrafton to wait until he had got the whole. Mr. Watts imputed this delay to another motive, thinking that he wanted to remain in the city until Roydoolub ſhould return from Plaſſy, that they might ſettle between them the ſcheme of purloining as much as poſſible of the Nabob's treaſures. To counteract his repugnance, whatſoever might be the cauſe, Mr. Scrafton aſſured him, that Colonel Clive intended to employ him as the

1757. May. the principal agent of the Engliſh in their affairs with the future government after the revolution; and that the emoluments of this office would amply compenſate whatſoever he might relinquiſh or loſe by his immediate departure. At length he conſented to go, but it was neceſſary, and ſeemed difficult to obtain the Nabob's conſent, as he relied principally upon Omichund for intelligence concerning the proceedings and views of the Engliſh. But Omichund himſelf ſolved the difficulty, by adviſing Mr. Scrafton to demand of the Nabob the preſent which he had intended to give to the Engliſh commanders at the concluſion of the peace in February; in conſequence of which, the Nabob ſuſpecting the ſecret had been diſcloſed by Omichund, would immediately hold him in as much deteſtation, as he had hitherto regarded him with favour. Accordingly this ſcene was acted. The Nabob denied the promiſe. Omichund pretended to be terrified; and the Nabob being really irritated, told Mr. Scrafton that he might carry him whereſoever he pleaſed.

Mr. Scrafton remained three days longer in the city in expectation of the return of Meer Jaffier from Plaſſy. Meer Jaffier arrived on the 30th, and viſited the Nabob, who, having no further need of his immediate ſervice, treated him with inſolence. The frown of deſpotiſm is always dreadful; and Meer Jaffier returned to his palace, convinced of impending danger, inſomuch that he was afraid of conferring in private with Mr. Scrafton, who viſited him in the afternoon, but received him in the hall of public audience; on which Scrafton left the city that evening.

He was accompanied by Omichund. They proceeded in palanquins; but when Scrafton arrived at Coſſimbuzar, he miſſed his companion; on which he ſtopped and diſpatched meſſengers to the city, who found the old man ſitting at midnight in the Nabob's treaſury, ſoliciting Moonloll for ſome more of the money which the Nabob had ordered to be reſtored to him in reward for his ſtory concerning Buſſy; but finding that Moonloll would give him nothing but promiſes, and preſſed by the meſſengers, he returned with them and rejoined Mr. Scrafton at two in the morning. Continuing their journey, Mr. Scrafton fell aſleep, and waking at day-break, miſſed his com-

companion again; and not knowing where to ſeek him, ſtopped and waited on the high road until three in the afternoon, when Omichund rejoined him again. He had been to viſit Roydoolub at the camp at Plaſſey, who had told him that no ſtipulation had been made for him in the agreements with Meer Jaffier. Omichund therefore queſtioned Mr. Scrafton with much ſharpneſs and ſuſpicion; but now the truth itſelf ſerved to deceive him; for Mr. Scrafton told him, that Roydoolub could not know any thing of that ſtipulation, ſince Mr. Watts had not yet communicated the treaty ultimately adjuſted by the ſelect committee even to Meer Jaffier himſelf. This appeaſed his anxieties, and they continued the reſt of their journey without interruption. On the 8th they arrived at Calcutta, where Omichund was received by Colonel Clive, and the other members of the ſelect committee, with much diſſembled cordiality, which, however, could not entirely efface the impreſſion which the words of Roydoolub had made in his mind; in conſequence of which he bribed the Perſian ſcribe of the council, to inform him if any deceit to his detriment ſhould appear in the treaty, when ratified by Meer Jaffier in the Perſian language. 1757. May.

The palace in which Meer Jaffier reſided, is ſituated on the ſouthern extremity of Muxadavad, on the iſland of Coſſimbuzar. The Nabob reſided in a palace called Heraut-jeel, in the middle of the city, on the other ſide of the river. Both palaces ſtand on the bank of the river, are fortified with towers, and were provided with cannon. Meer Jaffier, at his return from the Nabob, had requeſted all the officers on whoſe attachment he relied, to keep their troops in readineſs to defend his palace. In the ſame evening he ſent a truſty meſſenger to Mr. Watts, to whom Mr. Watts delivered the two treaties, real and fictitious, together with the ſeparate article of donation to the ſquadron, army, and committee, and explained the intention of deceiving Omichund by the fictitious treaty; requeſting, that all the three papers might be ratified, and returned to him without delay. But Meer Jaffier having promiſed Roydoolub to conclude nothing without his participation, deferred the ratification until his return from Plaſſy; which was, however, only a delay

1757. June. of two days; for Roydoolub came to the city on the third of June. He being informed of the ſtipulations, objected that all the money in the Nabob's treaſury was not ſufficient to anſwer them, and propoſed as a juſt compromiſe, that whatſoever might be found ſhould be equally divided between the Nabob and the Engliſh. Mr. Watts nevertheleſs would not recede from any of the ſums which had been ſtipulated, and repreſented to him, that if an equal diviſion was eſtabliſhed, the Engliſh could not allow the uſual commiſſion of five in the hundred to the officer who ſhould be appointed to manage the buſineſs of the treaſury; but proffered this office with that emolument to him, provided he would conſent to all their demands. This argument prevailed: Roydoolub relinquiſhed his objections, and Meer Jaffier ſigned the treaties on the fourth of June. On the ſame day the Nabob, not from any ſuſpicion of the confederacy, but from his pre-conceived averſion to Meer Jaffier, ordered him to reſign the command of the army to an officer named Coja Haddee.

It ſtill remained neceſſary that Meer Jaffier ſhould take an oath to obſerve the treaties. Mr. Watts therefore propoſed an interview; which Jaffier wiſhed likewiſe; but objected, that they could not meet without great riſque of diſcovery, ſince his palace was ſtrictly watched by the ſpies of the Nabob. However, Mr. Watts, relying on the fidelity of his own domeſticks, and on the manners of the country, went in the afternoon from his own houſe in a covered palanquin, ſuch as carry women of diſtinction, and paſſed without interruption to Jaffier's palace; who, with his ſon Meerum, received him in one of the apartments of his ſeraglio, into which the bearers carried the palanquin. Here they conferred without the riſk of obſervation. Meer Jaffier confeſſed that the number of troops on whoſe ſervice he could entirely rely, did not exceed 3000 horſe; but expected that ſeveral other commanders, whom he knew to be diſſatisfied with the Nabob, would turn againſt him in the day of battle. At all events, he deſired that the Engliſh troops would immediately take the field, promiſing, that if the Nabob ſhould determine to defend the city, he would attack his palace as ſoon as they appeared in ſight: if the conteſt was to be decided by a battle on the plain, he would regulate

his conduct according to the ſtation which he ſhould chance to occupy; if in the van, he would, on the approach of the Engliſh, beat his great drum, diſplay his ſtandard, march off with all the troops under his command, and join them on the right; if on either of the wings, or in the rear, he would diſplay a white flag, charge the main body of the Nabob's army as ſoon as the Engliſh began the attack, and endeavour to take the Nabob priſoner. After theſe explanations, he gave his full aſſent to the terms of the real treaty, and to whatſoever other donations had been ſtipulated; then placing the Koran on his own head, and his hand on the head of his ſon, whilſt Mr. Watts held the papers open before him, he ſwore with great ſolemnity, that he would faithfully perform all he had promiſed. They then reſolved, that Omar-beg, one of his officers who had lately carried ſeveral meſſages between Jaffier and Mr. Watts, ſhould immediately proceed with the treaties to Calcutta; and Mr. Watts returned as he came, undiſcovered. Having brought this dangerous negotiation to a concluſion, no other affairs required his preſence at Muxadavad; but as his retreat would leave the Nabob without a doubt of the hoſtile intentions of the Engliſh, he determined to remain ſeemingly in his power until the laſt extremity, and, in the mean time, to make ſuch preparations as would ſecure his flight. 1757. June.

The public treaty as written in Perſic, and ſigned by Meer Jaffier, is thus tranſlated: "I ſwear by God, and the Prophet, of God to "abide by the terms of this treaty whilſt I have life." Theſe words were written by Meer Jaffier in his own hand, and underſigned by him with his name. The following were as uſual in the hand of a ſcribe. "Treaty made with Admiral Watſon, Colonel Clive, and "the other counſellors, Mr. Drake and Mr. Watts.—Article I. "Whatever articles were agreed to in the time of peace with the "Nabob Surajah Dowlah, I agree to comply with.—II. The ene-"mies of the Engliſh are my enemies, whether they be Indians or "Europeans.—III. All the effects and factories belonging to the "French in the province of Bengal, the paradiſe of nations, and "Bahar, and Orixa, ſhall remain in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh,

1757. June. " nor will I ever allow them any more to ſettle in the three pro-
" vinces.—IV. In conſideration of the loſſes which the Engliſh
" company have ſuſtained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta
" by the Nabob, and the charges occaſioned by the maintenance of
" the forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.—V. For the
" effects plundered from the Engliſh inhabitants at Calcutta, I agree
" to give fifty lacks of rupees.—VI. For the effects plundered from
" the Gentoos, Moors, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, twenty
" lacks of rupees ſhall be given.—VII. For the effects plundered
" from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the ſum of
" ſeven lacks of rupees. The diſtribution of the ſums allotted to
" the Engliſh, Gentoo, Moor, and other inhabitants of Calcutta,
" ſhall be left to Admiral Watſon, Colonel Clive, Roger Drake,
" William Watts, James Kilpatrick, and Richard Becher, Eſ-
" quires, to be diſpoſed of by them, to whom they think proper.—
" VIII. Within the ditch, which ſurrounds the borders of Calcutta,
" are tracts of land belonging to ſeveral Zemindars: beſides theſe,
" I will grant to the Engliſh company 600 yards without the ditch.
" —IX. All the land lying ſouth of Calcutta, as far as Culpee,
" ſhall be under the Zemindary of the Engliſh company; and all
" the officers of theſe parts ſhall be under their juriſdiction. The
" revenues to be paid by the company in the ſame manner as other
" Zemindars.—X. Whenever I demand the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh,
" I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.—XI.
" I will not erect any new fortifications near the river Ganges, be-
" low Hughley.—XII. As ſoon as I am eſtabliſhed in the three pro-
" vinces, the aforeſaid ſums ſhall be faithfully paid. Dated the
" 15th of the month of Ramazan in the fourth year of the preſent
" reign." The treaty, written and ſigned by the Engliſh, contained the ſenſe of all theſe articles, but not expreſſed in the ſame words; and it likewiſe had one more of the following tenor.—" XIII. On
" condition Meer Jaffier Cawn Bahadar ſolemnly ratifies and ſwears
" to fulfil the above articles, We the underwritten do, for and in
" the behalf of the honourable Eaſt India company, declare on the
" holy evangeliſts, and before God, that we will aſſiſt Meer Jaf-
" fier

" fier Cawn Bahadar with our whole utmoſt force, to obtain the " Subahſhip of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, and " further that we will aſſiſt him to the utmoſt againſt all his ene- " mies whatever, whenſoever he calls upon us for that purpoſe, " provided that when he becomes the Nabob, he fulfils the above " articles." This treaty was ſigned by Admiral Watſon, Mr. Drake, the governor of Calcutta, Colonel Clive, Mr. Watts, Major Kilpatrick, and Mr. Becher. The donations to the army, ſquadron, and committee, were written in another treaty. 1757. June.

Omarbeg with the treaties arrived at Calcutta on the 10th, and explained the intentions of Jaffier to the ſelect committee, in the ſame manner as Jaffier had explained them to Mr. Watts. The troops of Jaffier, without the aſſiſtance of others who might join him, were deemed fully ſufficient to aſſure the ſucceſs of the enterprize, provided they acted with vigour. But he had hitherto behaved with ſo much irreſolution, that Clive began to ſuſpect he would fail ſtill more in the hour of danger. However, it was neceſſary either to proceed to immediate action, or entirely relinquiſh the confederacy; for the ſecret had inadvertently been revealed, and began to be the public talk even of the common ſoldiers at Calcutta and Chandernagore. It was therefore determined to commence hoſtilities without delay. Omichund was on the watch to learn the reſolutions of this council, and the real purport of the treaties; but the governor having entertained ſome ſuſpicions of the ſcribe whom Omichund had bribed, only entruſted him with the fictitious treaty, in which the ſtipulation in favour of Omichund was inſerted; who being ſatisfied with the report of the ſcribe, reſolved to proceed with the army to Muxadavad.

On the 12th, the troops which were at Calcutta, with 150 ſailors from the ſquadron, proceeded and joined that part of the army which was quartered at Chandernagore. All the neceſſary preparations had been made, and the whole army began their march from Chandernagore on the next day, leaving 100 of the ſailors to garriſon this fort, that every ſoldier might ſerve in the field. The Europeans with the field-pieces, ſtores and ammunition, proceeded in 200 boats,

1757. June. which were towed by the Indian rowers againſt the ſtream; for the tide flows no farther than Hughley. The Sepoys marched in ſight of the boats along the high road made by the Mogul government, and continuing from Hughley to Patna. The Nabob entertaining ſuſpicions of Nuncomar, had lately ſent a new governor to Hughley, who threatened to oppoſe the paſſage of the boats; but the twenty-gun ſhip coming up and anchoring before his fort, and a menacing letter from Colonel Clive, deterred him from that reſolution. As ſoon as the army left Chandernagore, Colonel Clive ſent away two of the Nabob's meſſengers, who were in his camp, with a letter of the following purport: "That the Nabob had uſed every ſubterfuge to evade the accompliſhment of the treaty of February; "that he had in four months reſtored only a fifth part of the effects "he had plundered from the Engliſh; that he had ſcarcely made "peace, before he invited Mr. Buſſy to come from the Decan, and "aſſiſt him in extirpating them once more out of his dominions; "that the party of French troops, with Mr. Law, were at this very "time maintained at his expence within 100 miles of his capital: "that he had, on groundleſs ſuſpicions, inſulted the Engliſh ho"nour; at one time ſending troops to examine their factory at "Coſſimbuzar; at another, driving their Vacqueel with diſgrace "out of his preſence: that he had promiſed a ſum of gold rupees; "then denied that promiſe; and then ſent Omichund from the "city, under pretence that it was he who had deceived the Engliſh "commanders in that buſineſs. On the other hand, the Engliſh "had bore all theſe injuries patiently, and had even taken the field "to aſſiſt him when alarmed by the approach of the Pitans; but "at length ſeeing no other remedy, their army was now marching to Muxadavad, where they intended to refer their complaints "to the deciſion of the principal officers of his government, "namely Meer Jaffier, Roydoolub, the *Seats*, Meer Murdeen, and "Moonloll; to which arbitration it was hoped that he would ac"quieſce, and ſpare the effuſion of blood."

Monickchund, the late governor of Calcutta, having received ſome hints of the confederacy from Omichund, had proffered his alliance

to Meer Jaffier. The *Seats* had ſecured Yar Khan Lattey, and ſeveral other commanders had promiſed their aſſiſtance in the hour of need, although they ſtill appeared dutiful to the Nabob. All theſe, whether Gentoos or Mahometans, confirmed their profeſſions by the uſual oaths of their religions. The Nabob, receiving ſome confuſed intelligence of theſe practices, prepared to attack the palace of Jaffier. Meſſages of threat and defiance paſſed between them from the 8th to the 11th, when letters from Calcutta ſpread a report in the city, that the Engliſh were confederated with Jaffier; to which, however, the Nabob did not ſeem to give credit; but Jaffier concluding that he muſt believe what was ſo true, ſent a meſſage to Mr. Watts, on the 11th, adviſing him to make his eſcape without delay. Mr. Watts was prepared, and all the Engliſh property and ſoldiers had been ſent away from the factory at Coſſimbuzar. Nevertheleſs he determined to wait ſtill longer, in expectation of a letter from Clive authorizing his departure. He, however, immediately ſent away the Armenian Petrus, who had been the moſt confidential of his agents in the conſpiracy, and Jaffier ſent one of his own domeſticks with Petrus; both were inſtructed to preſs Colonel Clive to begin his march. Notwithſtanding ſeveral other warnings, Mr. Watts perſevered until the 13th, when Jaffier informed him there was no longer any ſafety, ſince the Nabob's artillery would begin to fire upon his palace the next morning: upon this Mr. Watts immediately left his houſe in the city, travelling in his palankin towards the Engliſh factory at Coſſimbuzar, where he had lately been ſeveral times on pretence of buſineſs. There remained Mr. Collet, Mr. Sykes, and a ſurgeon, who were to make their eſcape with him, and they had reſided for ſome time at a country-houſe called Maudipore, about two miles to the ſouth of Coſſimbuzar. 1757. June.

Mr. Watts, ſtopping at the factory of Coſſimbuzar, ordered the domeſticks to prepare a ſupper, telling them, that he ſhould return in the evening with thoſe at Maudipore, to which he then proceeded. There was in his retinue an Uſbeg Tartar, named Mirza Shah Buzbeg, who had ſerved many years in different armies, was an excellent horſeman, and on all occaſions void of fear: he had attached himſelf

1757. June. ſelf with much fidelity to Mr. Watts, in return for ſome ſervices which Mr. Watts had rendered him eight years before at Patna, and now accompanied his flight. The four Engliſhmen and the Tartar, armed with piſtols, mounted their horſes at Maudipore about an hour before ſunſet: they were accompanied by ſome dog-keepers leading greyhounds, and each horſeman was, likewiſe, attended his groom on foot. This ſervant in India is, by habit, capable of keeping pace for ſeveral hours with the horſe, although going at a great rate. Having proceeded at a gentle pace on the plain, until they were about ſix miles to the ſouth, they ſent back the dog-keepers, ſaying, that they themſelves would return leiſurely another way. Immediately after this they met two Coſſids, or meſſengers, diſpatched by Colonel Clive, with a letter to Mr. Watts, permitting him to leave Muxadavad, if nothing more required his ſtay. It being now dark they quitted the road, and ſtruck to the left, where the country at ſome diſtance was uninhabited, and covered with thickets, along the ſkirt of which they proceeded to the ſouth, as faſt as they could, until they thought themſelves 30 miles from Coſſimbuzar. They then turned to the weſt, and about midnight came to the village of Aguadeep, ſituated on the bank of the river. At the entrance of the village was a party of the Nabob's horſe, picketed on each ſide of the road in the open air; but this guard was, as uſual at this ſeaſon of the night, ſo faſt aſleep, that not one of them aroſe to enquire who were come amongſt them. Having paſſed to the ſouthern extremity of the village, they diſcovered two ſmall boats, which were only capable of containing the riders. The Tartar, unwilling to loſe his own horſe, undertook to ſave thoſe of his companions, who leaving them with him, immediately went into the boats, and rowed down the ſtream about eight miles, to the point where the Coſſimbuzar and Jelingeer rivers unite: here they found a party of ſoldiers with ſome boats, diſpatched to eſcort them to the army. Having thus eſcaped out of the reach of danger, they took ſome refreſhment, and continued their way before day-break, in the boats with the ſoldiers; and the next day, at three in the afternoon, joined the army at Culnah, a town about 15

miles to the north of Hughley. Mr. Watts, immediately on his arrival, ſent back one of his own meſſengers, who chanced to be in the camp, to Muxadavad, with intelligence of his own ſafety, and of the approach of the army. The Armenian Petrus, with the meſſenger from Meer Jaffier, arrived the ſame day. The Tartar, with the grooms, ſoon found a boat in which they embarked, and holding the horſes with the bridles lengthened, ſwam them all ſafely acroſs the river; they joined the army the day after Mr. Watts. 1757. June.

Intelligence of their flight was carried to the Nabob early in the morning after their departure, juſt as he was about to commence hoſtilities againſt Meer Jaffier. The information overwhelmed him with aſtoniſhment and terror; for it convinced him at once of what he had hitherto diſbelieved, that the Engliſh were confederated with Jaffier; and ſeeing now the whole extent of his danger, magnified by his own timidity, he determined, if poſſible, to ſeparate their union; and immediately revoking the orders to attack Jaffier, he employed emiſſaries to treat with him. At the ſame time ſeveral of the Nabob's officers, on whoſe friendſhip Jaffier relied, were exhorting him to a reconciliation; to which he ſeemingly agreed, but, either through ſuſpicion or ſcorn, refuſed to viſit the Nabob. Such an objection at any other ſeaſon would have excluded all further intercourſe; but the Nabob, relinquiſhing his ſtate, went to the palace of Jaffier with a retinue not ſufficient to give umbrage. This viſit produced an agreement, ſanctified, as uſual, by mutual oaths on the Koran. Jaffier promiſed neither to join or give aſſiſtance to the Engliſh in the impending conteſt; the Nabob to permit him as ſoon as peace ſhould be reſtored, to retire unmoleſted out of the province with his family and treaſures. This interview was on the 15th, and precarious as the reconciliation was, it elated the Nabob ſo much, that he immediately wrote in terms of defiance to Colonel Clive, although he had not received the manifeſto fraught with accuſations, which Clive had diſpatched to him on leaving Chandernagore. "He reproached the Engliſh, in the ſharpeſt invectives, "with the flight of Mr. Watts. Suſpicion," he ſaid, "that ſome "trick was intended, had been the real cauſe which had induced "him

1757. June. "him to keep his army ſo long at Plaſſy; but God and the Prophet "would puniſh thoſe by whom the treaty was violated." He at the ſame time ordered his whole army, in which were now included the troops of Jaffier, to aſſemble with the utmoſt diligence at their former encampments at Plaſſy, and ſent orders to Mr. Law, who was waiting with his party at Boglipore, to come to his aſſiſtance with the utmoſt expedition.

The Engliſh army arrived and halted on the 16th at Patlee, a town on the weſtern ſhore of the river of Coſſimbuzar, about ſix miles above the junction of this with the Jelingeer river. Twelve miles above Patlee, on the ſame ſhore, is the fort of Cutwah; the walls of which were only of mud; but it commanded the paſſage of the river. The governor of this fort had promiſed to ſurrender after a little pretended reſiſtance, and Major Coote was ſent forward on the 17th with 200 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, one field-piece, and a ſmall mortar, to ſummon the place. The town of Cutwah lies about 300 yards ſouth of the fort, and is ſeparated from it by the Agey, a river which takes riſe in the high lands of Berbohin. The detachment landed at midnight, and found the town abandoned; but not being able to make uſe either of the field-piece or mortar, becauſe ſome of their appurtenances had been left behind, remained quiet until day-break, when Major Coote went to the bank of the river, and waved a white flag, which for ſome time was anſwered only by ſhot. However, the governor at length came down to the oppoſite bank, but inſtead of compliance, defied the attack. As ſoon as he was returned into the fort, the Sepoys croſſed the river, and, under ſhelter of a ridge, fired upon the ramparts, whilſt the Europeans marched to the left, in order to ford at ſome diſtance from the fort. As ſoon as the garriſon ſaw them entering the river, they ſet fire to a ſhed of matts, which had been raiſed to protect the walls from the ſun and rain, and as ſoon as all parts were in a blaze, they made their eſcape to the northward. Within the fort, and in ſeveral granaries in the neighbourhood, was found as much rice as would ſuſtain 10,000 men for a year. The main body of the army arrived at Cutwah in the evening, and encamped on the plain; but

but the next day the rainy ſeaſon began with ſuch violence, that they were obliged to ſtrike their tents, and ſhelter themſelves in the huts and houſes of the town. 1757. June.

The Nabob's troops ſeeing in the impending warfare no proſpect of plunder, as in the ſacking of Calcutta, and much more danger, clamorouſly refuſed to quit the city, until the arrears of their pay were diſcharged: this tumult laſted three days, nor was it appeaſed until they had obtained a large diſtribution of money. Colonel Clive had diſpatched a letter every day ſince he left Chandernagore, informing Meer Jaffier of his progreſs and ſtations, but he had hitherto received only one letter from Jaffier, which arrived on the 17th, and was dated the day before. In this Jaffier acknowledged his ſeeming reconciliation with the Nabob, and his oath not to aſſiſt the Engliſh againſt him; but ſaid, nevertheleſs, that the purport of his covenant with them muſt be carried into execution. This ambiguous communication, at ſo deciſive a time, made Colonel Clive ſuſpect that he might betray the Engliſh, by leaguing with the Nabob, and determined him not to croſs the river into the iſland of Coſſimbuzar until this doubt ſhould be removed. The two next days paſſed in diſappointed expectations of farther intelligence; but, on the 20th, returned the meſſenger whom Mr. Watts had diſpatched to Muxadavad on his arrival at Culnah. He reported, that he had been introduced to Meer Jaffier and his ſon Meirum, in a private court of their palace, into which, as ſoon as they began to queſtion him, came ſome other perſons, whom he ſuppoſed to belong to the Nabob; for, as ſoon as they appeared, Meirum threatened to cut off his head as a ſpy, and the heads of all the Engliſh, if they ſhould dare to croſs the river into the iſland. From this report no conſequences could be drawn; but in the evening arrived two letters from Meer Jaffier, dated on the 19th, one written to his agent Omarbeg, who was in the Engliſh camp, and the other to Colonel Cive. This only mentioned that he ſhould begin his march that day from the city, and that his tent would be either on the left or the right of the army, from whence he promiſed to ſend more frequent and explicit intelligence; having hitherto been deterred by the fear of diſcovery, as guards were ſtationed on all the roads to intercept all meſſengers. His letter

1757. June. ter to Omarbeg contained ſeveral particulars of the reconciliation between himſelf and the Nabob, and gave ſome account of the ſtate of the army. But neither letter explained his own deſigns in the field, or propoſed any plan of operations for the Engliſh army. This communication, therefore, although it abated Colonel Clive's ſuſpicions of Jaffier's treachery, did not confirm him in any reliance upon his reſolution or aſſiſtance: and much confounded by this perplexity, as well as by the danger of coming to action without horſe, of which the Engliſh had none, he wrote the ſame day to the Rajah of Burdawan, who was diſcontented with the Nabob, inviting him to join them with his cavalry, even were they only a thouſand. But, recollecting that the princes of Indoſtan never join the ſtandard which doubts of ſucceſs, his anxieties increaſed by the dread of thoſe imputations, to which he foreſaw the preſent caution of his conduct would be expoſed, if, after having engaged the public welfare in a project of ſuch importance and riſque, he ſhould recede from the attempt in the very hour of event. He, therefore, determined to conſult his officers, and aſſembled them the next day in council. They were 20, and he propoſed to their conſideration, "Whether "the army ſhould immediately croſs into the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, "and at all riſques attack the Nabob? or whether, availing themſelves of the great quantity of rice which they had taken at Cutwah, they ſhould maintain themſelves there during the rainy "ſeaſon, and in the mean time invite the Morattoes to enter the "province and join them?" Contrary to the forms uſually practiſed in councils of war, of taking the voice of the youngeſt officer firſt, and aſcending from this to the opinion of the preſident, Colonel Clive gave his own opinion firſt, which was, "to remain at Cutwah;" and then deſcended to the loweſt according to the ſucceſſion of rank. The Majors Kilpatrick and Grant were of the ſame opinion as himſelf, but Major Coote reaſoned otherwiſe. He ſaid, "that the common ſoldiers were at preſent confident of ſucceſs; "that a ſtop ſo near the enemy would naturally quell this ardour, "which it would be difficult to reſtore; that the arrival of the "French troops with Mr. Law would add ſtrength to the Nabob's "force and vigour to his councils; that they would ſurround the

"Engliſh

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"Engliſh army, and cut off its communication with Calcutta, when "diſtreſſes not yet foreſeen might ruin it as effectually as the loſs "of a battle. He therefore adviſed, that they ſhould either ad- "vance and decide the conteſt immediately, or immediately return "to Calcutta." It is very rare that a council of war decides for battle; for as the commander never conſults his officers in this authentic form, but when great difficulties are to be ſurmounted, the general communication increaſes the ſenſe of riſque and danger which every one brings with him to the conſultation. Thirteen officers were againſt, and only ſeven voted for immediate action. The ſanction of this council in no wiſe alleviated the anxieties of Clive; for, as ſoon as it broke up, he retired alone into the adjoining grove, where he remained near an hour in deep meditation, which convinced him of the abſurdity of ſtopping where he was; and acting now entirely from himſelf, he gave orders, on his return to his quarters, that the army ſhould croſs the river the next morning.

The ſick were lodged in the fort of Cutwah, and at ſun-riſe, on the 22d, the army began to paſs: all were landed on the oppoſite ſhore by four in the afternoon, at which time another meſſenger arrived with a letter from Jaffier, which had likewiſe been diſpatched on the 19th, but had taken bye-roads, and was delayed by other precautions. The purport was, "That the Nabob had halted at Mun- "carra, a village ſix miles to the ſouth of Coſſimbuzar, and intended "to entrench and wait the event at that place, where Jaffier pro- "poſed that the Engliſh ſhould attack him by ſurprize, marching "round by the inland part of the iſland." Colonel Clive immediately ſent back the meſſenger with this anſwer, "That he ſhould "march to Plaſſy without delay, and would the next morning ad- "vance ſix miles farther to the village of Daudpoor; but if Meer "Jaffier did not join him there, he would make peace with the "Nabob." Accordingly the troops proceeded before ſun-ſet, conforming their march to the progreſs of the boats, which, as before, were towed againſt the ſtream; and having, by unceaſing toil, advanced fifteen miles in eight hours, arrived at one in the morning at Plaſſy. The army immediately took poſſeſſion of the adjoining

1757. June. grove, when, to their great ſurprize, the continual ſound of drums, clarions, and cymbals, which always accompany the night watches of an Indian camp, convinced them that they were within a miſe of the Nabob's army. His intention to remain at Muncarra, had ariſen from a ſuppoſition that the Engliſh would advance immediately after they had taken Cutwah, and would arrive at Plaſſy before his own could get there; but as ſoon as he found that they were not ſo active, he continued his march, and arrived at the camp of Plaſſy twelve hours before them.

The guards and centinels being ſtationed, the reſt of the troops were permitted to take reſt. The ſoldiers ſlept; but few of the officers, and leaſt of all the commander. On the other hand, the deſpondency of the Nabob increaſed as the hour of danger approached. Sitting in his tent in the evening of his arrival at the camp, it chanced that his attendants quitted him one after another in order to ſay their uſual prayers at ſun-ſet, until they left him quite alone; when a common fellow, either through ignorance, or with an intention to ſteal, entered the tent unperceived, until he was diſcovered by the Nabob; who ſtarting from the gloomy reflections in which he was abſorbed, haſtily recalled his attendants with this emphatic exclamation, "Sure they ſee me dead."

The grove of Plaſſy extended north and ſouth about 800 yards in length, and 300 in breadth, and was planted with mango-trees, in regular rows. It was incloſed by a ſlight bank and ditch, but the ditch was choaked with coarſe weeds and brambles. The angle to the ſouth-weſt was 200 yards from the river, but that to the north-weſt not more than 50. A little to the north of the grove, and on the bank of the river, ſtood a hunting-houſe of the Nabob's, encompaſſed by a garden-wall. The river, a mile before it reaches this houſe, curves to the ſouth-weſt nearly in the ſhape of an horſe-ſhoe, including a peninſula about three miles in circumference, of which the neck, from the ſtream to the ſtream again, is not more than a quarter of a mile acroſs. About 300 yards to the ſouth of the peninſula, began an entrenchment, which Roydoolub had thrown up to ſecure his camp: the ſouthern face, fronting the grove of Plaſſy,

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extended nearly in a ſtreight line, about 200 yards inland from the bank of the river; and then turning to the north-eaſt by an obtuſe angle, continued nearly in this direction about three miles. Within this entrenchment encamped the whole army, of which a part likewiſe occupied the peninſula. In the angle was raiſed a redoubt, on which cannon were mounted. About 300 yards to the eaſt of this redoubt, but without the camp, was a hillock covered with trees; and 800 yards to the ſouth of this hillock and the redoubt, was a ſmall tank or pond; and 100 yards farther to the ſouth was another, but much larger tank: both, as all ſuch public reſervoirs of water in Bengal, were ſurrounded by a large mound of earth at the diſtance of ſome yards from the margin of the water.

At day-break, the enemy's army iſſuing from many different openings of the camp, began to advance towards the grove; 50,000 foot, 18,000 horſe, and 50 pieces of cannon. The greateſt part of the foot were armed with matchlocks, the reſt with various arms, pikes, ſwords, arrows, rockets. The cavalry, both men and horſes, drawn from the northern regions, were much ſtouter than any which ſerve in the armies of Coromandel. The cannon were moſtly of the largeſt calibres, 24 and 32 pounders; and theſe were mounted on the middle of a large ſtage, raiſed ſix feet from the ground, carrying beſides the cannon, all the ammunition belonging to it, and the gunners themſelves who managed the cannon, on the ſtage itſelf. Theſe machines were drawn by 40 or 50 yoke of white oxen, of the largeſt ſize, bred in the country of Purnea; and behind each cannon walked an elephant, trained to aſſiſt at difficult tugs, by ſhoving with his forehead againſt the hinder part of the carriage. The infantry and cavalry marched in many ſeparate and compact bodies. Forty vagabond Frenchmen, under the command of one Sinfray, appeared at the larger tank, that neareſt the grove, with four pieces of light cannon. Two larger pieces advanced and halted on a line with this tank, cloſe to the bank of the river. Behind theſe poſts 5000 horſe and 7000 foot took their ſtation under the command of Meer Murdeen, and the ſon of Moonlol. The reſt of the army in large columns of horſe and foot extended in a curve from the left

1757. June. left of the hillock near their camp, to the ground about 800 yards eaſt of the ſouthern angle of the grove of Plaſſy: and in this part were the troops of Meer Jaffier, Roydoolub, and Lattee. In all the openings between the columns were interſperſed the artillery, two, three, and four pieces together.

Colonel Clive, viewing the enemy's array from the top of the hunting-houſe, was ſurprized at their numbers, as well as the ſplendor and confidence of their array; but judging, that if his own troops remained in the grove, the enemy would impute the caution to fear, and grow bolder, he drew them up in a line with the hunting-houſe, and facing to the neareſt tank. They were 900 Europeans, of whom 100 were artillery-men, and 50 were ſailors; 100 Topaſſes, and 2100 Sepoys; the artillery were eight field-pieces, all ſix-pounders, and two howitz: the Topaſſes were blended in the battalion with the Europeans, the ſailors aſſiſted the artillery-men. The battalion with three field-pieces on the right, and the ſame number on their left, were in the centre; on the right and left of which extended the Sepoys in two equal diviſions. The other two field-pieces and the howitzes were advanced 200 yards in front of the left diviſion of Sepoys, and poſted behind two brick-kilns. This line extended 600 yards beyond the right of the grove; but the diſtance of the enemy in this quarter, prevented any danger of their falling upon the flank before whatſoever troops were ordered could fall back, and range along the eaſt ſide of the grove. The firſt ſhot was fired by the enemy, at eight o'clock, from the tank; it killed one, and wounded another of the grenadier company, which was poſted on the right of the battalion. This, as a ſignal, was followed by the continual fire of the reſt of the Nabob's artillery on the plain. But moſt of their ſhot flew too high. The two advanced field-pieces anſwered the fire from the tank, and thoſe with the battalion acted againſt the different diviſions of heavy artillery on the plain; but firing out of the reach of point-blank ſhot, hit none of the enemy's guns; nevertheleſs, every ſhot took place, either in one or other of the bodies of infantry or cavalry. But ten for one killed, was no advantage in ſuch a diſparity of numbers, and in half an hour the

Engliſh loſt 10 Europeans, and 20 Sepoys; on which Colonel Clive ordered the whole army to retire into the grove. The enemy elated by this retreat, advanced their heavy artillery nearer, and fired with greater vivacity than before; but their ſhot only ſtruck the trees; for the troops were ordered to ſit down, whilſt the field-pieces alone anſwered the enemy's cannon from behind the bank. Exploſions of powder were frequently obſerved amongſt their artillery. At eleven o'clock Colonel Clive conſulted his officers at the drum head; and it was reſolved to maintain the cannonade during the day, but at midnight to attack the Nabob's camp. About noon a very heavy ſhower covered the plain, and very ſoon damaged the enemy's powder ſo much, that their fire ſlackened continually; but the Engliſh ammunition ſerved on. The Nabob had remained in his tent out of the reach of danger, continually flattered by his attendants and officers, of whom one half were traitors, with aſſurances of victory; but about noon he was informed, that Meer Murdeen, the beſt and moſt faithful of his generals, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball. The misfortune diſturbed him to exceſs; he immediately ſent for Meer Jaffier; and as ſoon as he entered the tent, flung his turband on the ground, ſaying, "Jaffier, that turband you muſt defend." The other bowed, and with his hands on his breaſt, promiſed his utmoſt ſervices; and returning to his troops and aſſociates immediately diſpatched a letter to Colonel Clive, informing him of what had paſſed, and adviſing him either to puſh forward in the inſtant, or at all events, to attack the Nabob's camp at three the next morning; but the meſſenger was afraid to proceed whilſt the firing continued. In the mean time, the terrors of the Nabob increaſed continually: Roydoolub taking advantage of them, counſelled him to return to his capital: his advice prevailed, and the Nabob ordered the army to retreat into the intrenchments. 1757. June.

Accordingly, about two o'clock, the enemy ceaſed the cannonade, and were perceived yoking the trains of oxen to their artillery, and as ſoon as theſe were in motion, their whole army turned and proceeded ſlowly towards the camp. But Sinfray with his party and field-pieces ſtill maintained his poſt at the tank. This was a good

ſtation

1757. June. ſtation to cannonade the enemy from, during their retreat; and Major Kilpatrick impatient to ſeize the opportunity, advanced from the grove with two companies of the battalion, and two field-pieces, marching faſt towards the tank, and ſent information of his intention, and the reaſon of it, to his commander, who chanced at this time to be lying down in the hunting-houſe. Some ſay he was aſleep; which is not improbable, conſidering how little reſt he had had for ſo many hours before; but this is no imputation either againſt his courage or conduct. Starting up, he ran immediately to the detachment, reprimanded Kilpatrick ſharply for making ſuch a motion without his orders, commanded him to return to the grove, and bring up the reſt of the army; and then proceeded himſelf with the detachment to the tank, which Sinfray, ſeeing his party left without ſupport, abandoned; and retreated to the redoubt of the intrenchment, where he planted his field-pieces ready to act again.

As the main body of the Engliſh troops were advancing to the tank, that part of the Nabob's army, which in the beginning of the action had formed oppoſite to the ſouth-eaſt angle of the grove of Plaſſy, lingered in the retreat behind the reſt, and when they had paſſed the parallel of the grove, halted, faced, and advanced towards the north-eaſt angle. Theſe were the troops of Meer Jaffier; but their ſignals not being underſtood, it was ſuppoſed that they intended to fall upon the baggage and boats at the grove, whilſt the Engliſh army were engaged at the tank. Three platoons of the line, whilſt in march, and a field-piece, were detached to oppoſe them, under the command of Captain Grant and Lieutenant Rumbold; and Mr. John Johnſtone, a volunteer, managed the field-piece, the fire of which ſoon ſtopped the approach of the ſuppoſed enemy. Mean while the army being arrived at the tank, got all their field-pieces upon the mound, and from thence began to cannonade into the Nabob's camp; on which many of the troops came again out of the intrenchment, and ſeveral pieces of their artillery were likewiſe preparing to return; on this, Colonel Clive advanced nearer, and poſted half his troops and artillery at the leſſer tank, and the other half at a riſing ground about 200 yards to the left of it. From theſe ſtations the cannonade

was

was renewed with more efficacy than before, and killed many of the oxen which were drawing the artillery, which threw all the trains that were approaching into diſorder. On the other hand, the Frenchmen with Sinfray plyed their field-pieces from the redoubt; and matchlocks from the intrenchments, from ditches, hollows, and every hole or ſhelter, as alſo from the buſhes on the hillock eaſt of the redoubt, kept up a conſtant although irregular fire, whilſt the cavalry advanced ſeveral times threatening to charge ſword in hand, but were always ſtopped and repulſed by the quick firing of the field-pieces. Nevertheleſs, the Engliſh ſuffered as much in this, as they had during all the former operations of the day. At length the troops of Jaffier appeared moving away from the field of battle, without joining the reſt of the Nabob's army; which convincing Colonel Clive who they were, he determined to make one vigorous effort for victory by attacking at once Sinfray's redoubt, and the eminence to the eaſtward of it, in the cover of which an ambuſcade was ſuſpected. Two diviſions of the army were appointed to the two attacks, and the main body advanced in the centre ready to ſupport both, and to act, as occaſion ſhould offer, of itſelf. The diviſion on the right gained the eminence without firing or receiving a ſingle ſhot. At the ſame time the left marched up to the redoubt, which Sinfray, finding himſelf again deſerted by his allies, quitted without farther reſiſtance, and without carrying off his field-pieces. Thus the whole of the Engliſh army entered the camp at five o'clock, without other obſtacle than what they met from tents, artillery, baggage, and ſtores, diſperſed around them, and abandoned by an army which out-numbered them ten to one, and were flying before them on all ſides in the utmoſt confuſion. 1757. June.

The cauſe of this ſudden panic was the flight of the Nabob, who hearing that Meer Jaffier remained inactive on the plain, and that the Engliſh were advancing to ſtorm his camp, mounted a camel, and fled at the utmoſt pace of the animal, accompanied by about 2000 horſemen. The victory was decided, and was confirmed by the arrival of the meſſenger with the letter ſent by Meer Jaffier at

1757. June. noon; ſoon after came another, whom Colonel Clive immediately returned with a note, requeſting Meer Jaffier to meet him the next morning at Daudpore.

The Engliſh ſoldiers being told, that they ſhould receive a donation of money, received the orders to march on to Daudpore with acclamations, nor ſhewed any deſire to ſtop for the plunder which lay ſpread around them. They halted, however, until the commiſſaries had taken poſſeſſion of as many oxen as ſufficed for all the artillery and carriages of the army: their own being much inferior to the Nabob's. A detachment was ſent forward, under Major Coote, to purſue, or rather to obſerve if the enemy rallied; and the whole army arrived at eight o'clock, and reſted at Daudpore. This important victory was gained with little loſs. Only 16 Sepoys were killed, and 36 wounded, many of whom ſlightly: and of the Europeans about 20 were killed and wounded; of which number, ſix of the killed, and ten of the wounded, were of the artillery, as were likewiſe the only two officers who were wounded during the different operations of the day.

In the morning, Colonel Clive deputed Mr. Scrafton and Omarbeg to conduct Meer Jaffier to Daudpore, who received them with reſerve, and an air of anxiety, as if he apprehended, that the Engliſh reſented his conduct, in not having joined them, conformably to his promiſes; he, however, immediately proceeded with them to Daudpore, accompanied by his ſon Meirum, and his uſual retinue. On entering the Engliſh camp, he alighted from his elephant, and the guard drew out, and reſted their arms, to receive him with the uſual honours. Not knowing the meaning of this compliment, he ſtarted back, as if he thought it a preparation to his deſtruction; but Colonel Clive advancing haſtily, embraced, and ſaluted him Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa, which removed his fears. They conferred about an hour, he making ſome apologies, and the Colonel no reproaches; but adviſed him to proceed immediately to the city, and not to ſuffer Surajah Dowlah to eſcape, nor his treaſures to be plundered. Meer Jaffier returning to his troops, haſtened with them to Muxadavad, and arrived there in the evening, that is, of

the 24th. Colonel Clive then diſpatched letters to Roydoolub, Latty, and Monickchund, and to Monickchund he promiſed that no enquiry ſhould be made concerning the plunder of Calcutta. The army proceeded in the afternoon, and halted ſix miles beyond Daudpore. 1757. June.

Surajah Dowlah got to the city before the midnight after the battle; and not a few of his principal officers arrived there almoſt as ſoon as himſelf. Theſe he aſſembled in council. Some adviſed him to deliver himſelf up to the Engliſh, which he imputed to treachery; others propoſed, that he ſhould encourage the army by the offer of great rewards, and appear again at their head in the morning. This he ſeemed to approve, and, having ordered an immediate diſtribution of three months pay to the troops, diſmiſſed the council, and retired into the ſeraglio, where, left to his own reflections and his women, his terrors returned.

The next morning, the 24th, he ſent away his women, with 50 elephants laden with their furniture and neceſſaries, and with them a great part of his own jewels, and ſome gold rupees: and determined to eſcape himſelf in the night; but, having loſt all confidence in every officer of diſtinction, whoſe fortunes either he himſelf or his grandfather had made, he intruſted his intentions only to the eunuch who governed his ſeraglio. The arrival of Meer Jaffier in the evening, although he attempted nothing immediately, haſtened the Nabob's departure. Having diſguiſed himſelf in a mean dreſs, he went ſecretly at ten o'clock at night out of a window, carrying a caſket of his moſt valuable jewels, and attended only by his favourite concubine and the eunuch. They got undiſcovered into a boat, which the eunuch had prepared at the wharf of the palace: it immediately rowed away to the northward. It was his intention to eſcape to Mr. Law, and with him to Patna, the governor of which province was a faithful adherent to his family. At midnight, Meer Jaffier was informed of his flight, and immediately ſent ſeveral parties in purſuit of him. In the morning, the whole city was in confuſion, no one knowing what was become of their late Nabob, and not perceiving his ſtation occupied by any other. Moonlol, and ſeveral others of the Nabob's familiars, were taken in the forenoon, endeavouring to

1757. June. make their eſcape; and the next day the women, with the elephants belonging to the ſeraglio, which the Nabob had ſent away previous to his own departure, were ſtopped by ſome of Meer Jaffier's troops at Bogwongolla, a town on the great arm of the Ganges, 15 miles to the N. E. of Muxadavad.

The Engliſh army arrived at noon, the 25th, and halted at Maudipoor, from whence Colonel Clive ſent forward Mr. Watts and Mr. Walſh, attended by 100 Sepoys: they arrived at three in the afternoon in the city, and viſited Meer Jaffier, who then diſpatched more parties in purſuit of Surajah Dowlah. Their viſit convinced the inhabitants whom they were to look up to as their future lord, and their exhortations, ſeconded by the vicinity of the Engliſh army, encouraged Meer Jaffier to proclaim himſelf Nabob.

The next day, the 26th, Watts and Walſh viſited the *Seats*, where they met Meer Jaffier and Roydoolub, and conferred concerning the payment of the ſtipulated monies, but Roydoolub inſiſted pertinaciouſly that the whole amount of Surajah Dowlah's treaſures was not ſufficient to ſupply it. The reſtitution, with the donations to the ſquadron, the army, and the committee, amounted to 22,000,000 of Secca rupees, equal to 2,750,000 pounds. But other donations were promiſed, which have ſince been the foundation of ſeveral fortunes, although not then publicly avowed.

Mr. Watts propoſed, that the Seats ſhould ſupply the deficiency, and repay themſelves out of the future revenues. Roydoolub replied, that the Seats could not advance crores of rupees; a crore is 10,000,000. His objections raiſed as unfavourable prejudices of his character, as were entertained of Omichund; but the next day, the 27th, the deputies had real cauſe to think evil of him; for the Seats ſent Rungeet Roy to inform them, that a conſultation had been held in the night, between Roydoolub, Meerum the ſon of Meer Jaffier, and Cuddum Huſſain Cawn, an officer of diſtinction, in which it was propoſed to aſſaſſinate Colonel Clive, who intended to have gone to the city that day; but changed his reſolution on this notice, and waited all the next at Coſſimbuzar for farther information concerning this plot; during which, his apprehenſions were

were removed, but by what intelligence we do not know. On the 29th in the morning, he entered the city, eſcorted by 200 of the battalion and 300 Sepoys, and proceeded to the habitation allotted for him. It was a palace and a garden, called Moraudbaug, and ſpacious enough to accommodate all the troops which accompanied him. Here he was immediately viſited by Meerum, with whom he went to the palace of the late Nabob, where Meer Jaffier with all the great officers in the city were waiting for him. In the hall of audience was fixed the *Muſnud* or throne, in which Surajah Dowlah uſed to appear in public. Jaffier, after the firſt ſalutation at the entrance, returned towards the inner part of the hall with Colonel Clive, and ſeemed deſirous to avoid the *Muſnud*, which Clive perceiving, led him to it, and having placed him on it, made obeiſance to him, as Nabob of the provinces, in the uſual forms, and preſented a plate with gold rupees: he then, by an interpreter, exhorted the great men to be joyful that fortune had given them ſo good a prince, in exhange for ſuch a tyrant as Surajah Dowlah; on which they likewiſe paid homage, and preſented gold. The next morning Jaffier viſited Clive, and conferred with him on the ſtate of the treaſury, alledging, as Roydoolub had done, that there was not ſufficient to anſwer all his engagements to the Engliſh, but that he was nevertheleſs ready to agree to any reaſonable accommodation. Clive propoſed, and Jaffier agreed, to refer the matter to the *Seats*; and, in order to extinguiſh as ſoon as poſſible this brand of contention, they proceeded immediately to the houſe of the *Seats*, accompanied by Watts, Scrafton, Meerum, and Roydoolub. Omichund, who was attending, followed, thinking himſelf, at this very time, in as high a degree of eſtimation with Clive, as any one who had contributed to the revolution; but, on his arrival at the *Seats*, finding that he was not invited to the carpet where the others were in conference, he ſat down at a diſtance near the outward part of the hall.

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The treaties, as written in Perſic and Engliſh, were read, explained, and acknowledged. After much converſation, Roydoolub inſiſting always on the ſcantineſs of the treaſury, it was agreed that one half

of

1757. June. of the money ſtipulations ſhould be paid immediately; two thirds of this half in coin, and one third in jewels, plate, and effects, at a valuation; but that the other half ſhould be diſcharged in three years at three equal payments: Roydoolub was allowed a commiſſion of five in the hundred on the ſums for reſtitution, which amounted to 17,700,000 rupees, and this was one of the gratuities which had been held out to Omichund. The conference being ended, Clive and Scraſton went towards Omichund, who was waiting in full aſſurance of hearing the glad tidings of his good fortune; when Clive ſaid, "It "is now time to undeceive Omichund:" on which, Scraſton ſaid to him in the Indoſtan language, "Omichund, the red paper is a trick; "you are to have nothing." Theſe words overpowered him like a blaſt of ſulphur; he ſunk back, fainting, and would have fallen to the ground, had not one of his attendants caught him in his arms; they carried him to his palankin, in which they coveyed him to his houſe, where he remained many hours in ſtupid melancholy, and began to ſhew ſome ſymptoms of inſanity. Some days after, he viſited Colonel Clive, who adviſed him to make a pilgrimage to ſome pagoda; which he accordingly did ſoon after, to a famous one near Maulda: he went, and returned inſane, his mind every day more and more approaching to idiotiſm; and, contrary to the uſual manners of old age in Indoſtan, ſtill more to the former excellence of his underſtanding, he delighted in being continually dreſſed in the richeſt garments, and ornamented with the moſt coſtly jewels. In this ſtate of imbecillity, he died about a year and a half after the ſhock of his diſappointment. Grounded on his importance, by knowing the ſecret, he held out the terror of betraying it, to ſecure his own advantages. Whether he would have betrayed it, if refuſed, is uncertain: for part of his fortune was in the power of the Engliſh, and he had the utmoſt vengeance of Jaffier and his confederates to fear. However, the experiment was not to be tried. But, on the other hand, as his tales and artifices prevented Surajah Dowlah from believing the repreſentations of his moſt truſty ſervants, who early ſuſpected, and at length were convinced, that the Engliſh were confederated with Jaffier; the 2,000,000 of rupees

rupees he expected ſhould have been paid to him, and he left to enjoy them in oblivion and contempt. 1757.

On the 2d of July, two days after the conference at the *Seats*, news came to the city that Surajah Dowlah was taken, and the report excited murmurs amongſt a great part of the army encamped around. The rowers of his boat, fatigued with exceſſive toil, ſtopped in the night at Rajah Mahal, and the Nabob, with his concubine, took ſhelter in a deſerted garden; where he was diſcovered at break of day by a man of mean condition, whoſe ears he had cauſed to be cut off, when at this place about 13 months before he took the fatal and furious reſolution of returning from his intended expedition againſt Purneah, to the deſtruction of Calcutta. The injured man revealed him to the brother of Meer Jaffier, reſiding in the town, and he to the ſoldiers who were ſeeking him. They hurried him back to Muxadavad with the eager diligence of men who knew the value of their prize; and to recommend themſelves ſtill more to their employers, treated him with every kind of inſolence and indignity compatible with the preſervation of his life. In this manner they brought him, about midnight, as a common felon, into the preſence of Meer Jaffier, in the very palace which a few days before had been the ſeat of his own reſidence and deſpotic authority. It is ſaid that Jaffier ſeemed to be moved with compaſſion; and well he might, for he owed all his former fortunes to the generoſity and favour of Allaverdy, who died in firm reliance, that Jaffier would repay his bounties by attachment and fidelity to this his darling adoption; who, himſelf, to Jaffier at leaſt, was no criminal. Surajah Dowlah proſtrated himſelf, and with exceſſive tremor and tears implored for life alone. But Meerum, the ſon of Jaffier, a youth not ſeventeen, fierce, barbarous, and in his nature cruel as Surajah Dowlah himſelf, inſiſted on inſtant death. Jaffier ordered the priſoner to be removed, and the ſoldiers who had taken led him into a diſtant chamber, one of the vileſt of the palace, which they guarded in expectation of farther orders. Moſt of the principal men in the government were at this time in the palace, ſome to teſtify their reſpects, others to tranſact the affairs of July.

their

1757. July. their offices. All theſe Jaffier conſulted. Some, although they had before trembled at the frown of Surajah Dowlah, now deſpiſed the meanneſs of his nature, more than they had dreaded the malignancy of his diſpoſition: others, for their own ſakes, did not chuſe to encourage their new ſovereign in deſpotic acts of bloodſhed: ſome were actuated by veneration for the memory of Allaverdy: others wiſhed to preſerve Surajah Dowlah, either as a reſource to themſelves, or as a reſtraint upon Jaffier: all theſe propoſed a ſtrict but mild impriſonment. But the reſt, who were more ſubtle courtiers, ſeconded the opinion of Meerum, repreſenting the riſques of revolt and revolution to which the government of Jaffier would continually be expoſed, whilſt Surajah Dowlah lived. Jaffier himſelf gave no opinion; and Meerum ſeeing his unwillingneſs to pronounce, adviſed him to go to reſt; and he himſelf would take care of the priſoner. Jaffier, pretending to underſtand theſe words as if they meant no violence, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and retired into the inward apartments of the palace; when Meerum privately ſent one of his own menial ſervants, in whom he moſt confided, to the guard, with the fatal mandate; which they received with the ruthleſs alacrity of ruffians who murder for reward. Their boiſterous intruſion into the chamber immediately convinced Surajah Dowlah of their purpoſe, and the inſtant terrors of death threw him into a ſtrong agony of bitter lamentation. At length he recovered ſufficiently to aſk leave to make his ablutions, and to ſay his prayers. A pot of water chanced to be near, which the executioners, impatient to perform their work, haſtily threw over his head. The ſervant then ſtruck with his poignard, and the others finiſhed the maſſacre with their ſwords. His mangled remains were expoſed, in the morning, through the city, upon an elephant, and then carried to the tomb of Allaverdy, where they were buried. The populace beheld the proceſſion with awe and conſternation; and the ſoldiery, having no longer the option of two lords, accepted the promiſes of Jaffier, and refrained from tumult.

Thus

1757. July.

Thus periſhed Surajah Dowlah, in the 20th year of his age, and the 15th month of his reign, by the hands of violence, as his father and grandfather had periſhed before him; and by means not unlike thoſe which were employed by both his grandfathers to deſtroy the heir of their benefactor, by whom they, as Jaffier by them, had been promoted from obſcurity to the higheſt ranks of the ſtate. There were found with his ſecretary copies of the letters he had written to Mr. Buſſy in Chicacole, and to Mr. Law in Behar. In one to Mr. Buſſy, dated a few days after he had ſworn to the peace concluded with the Engliſh on the 6th of February, he preſſeth him to ſend 2000 men under the command of truſty officers, and in another invites him to march himſelf with his whole force into Bengal. To Mr. Law he writes ſoon after his departure into Behar, and before the confederacy againſt himſelf began to move, that he is determined to attack the Engliſh, and orders him to return immediately with his party to Muxadavad. Tyrant as he was, if he had reſpected the advice of his grandfather Allaverdy, and not have excited the deteſtation of the Gentoos, at the ſame time that he was rendering himſelf dreadful to the principal Mahomedan officers of his court, the Engliſh would have found no alliance ſufficient to have ventured the riſque of dethroning him: but it is probable that the ſame iniquity of character, which urged him to the deſtruction of Calcutta, would ſoon have called forth other avengers of other atrocious deeds.

The party of Frenchmen, with Mr. Law, advanced from Boglipore as ſoon as they received the laſt ſummons of Surajah Dowlah, but ſo late, that they had not paſſed Tacriagully, when they heard ſome confuſed reports of the battle of Plaſſy, on which Mr. Law halted, waiting for more certain information. Had he immediately proceeded 20 miles farther, he would the next day have met and ſaved Surajah Dowlah, and an order of events, very different from thoſe which we have to relate, would in all probability have enſued. After waiting two days at Tacriagully, Mr. Law received intelligence that he was taken; on which he immediately marched back into Behar, intending to offer his ſervice to Ramnarain, the vice-nabob of the province.

1757. July. Of all the Gentoos whom Allaverdy had raiſed to high appointments, Ramnarain ſeems to have been the only one, whoſe gratitude had not been eſtranged by the deſpotic caprices of Surajah Dowlah. But they were connected by the ſame reſentments: for, whilſt Surajah Dowlah was harbouring grudge againſt Meer Jaffier at Muxadavad, Ramnarain was at variance with a brother, and a brother-in-law of Meer Jaffier, who held conſiderable employments at Patna. The knowledge of this animoſity had deterred Roydoolub, although connected with Ramnarain by religion as well as buſineſs, from attempting to gain his concurrence to the confederacy; nor does it appear that Ramnarain knew any thing of it until it was brought to the point of deciſion. In the mean while, he regarded the party with Mr. Law as an important reſource to Surajah Dowlah, in caſe hoſtilities ſhould be renewed with the Engliſh, and had accordingly ſupplied them, although ſecretly, with the means of ſubſiſtance ever ſince they had retreated into his province. The new regency at Muxadavad had, therefore, no reaſon to expect his willing acquieſcence to the revolution, or not to ſuſpect that he would not entertain the party with Mr. Law, and even ſtrengthen himſelf ſtill more by alliances with the neighbouring powers to the weſtward. The beſt means of averting theſe conſequences conſiſted in ſending a detachment expedite and ſtrong enough to deſtroy the French party before they reached Patna, or a force ſufficient to deter Ramnarain from taking them into his pay when they ſhould arrive there.

Meer Jaffier, notwithſtanding the ſeeming acquieſcence of the ſoldiery to his acceſſion, was afraid to truſt any conſiderable body of them at a diſtance, and eſpecially in the precarious province of Behar; but was aſhamed to acknowledge his miſtruſt, which Clive penetrated, and determined to undertake the expedition with the Engliſh troops alone. The detachment conſiſted of 230 Europeans, three companies each of 100 Sepoys, 50 Laſcars, and two field-pieces, both ſix-pounders, and Major Coote was appointed to the command. The baggage, ſtores, carriages, ammunition, and proviſions, were laden in 40 boats, all of which were very ill equipt, whether with rowers

rowers or tackle; and, nevertheleſs, were not ready before the 6th of July, when they left Muxadavad; by which time the French party had got half-way to Patna. 1757. July.

The news of the battle of Plaſſy was brought to Calcutta on the 25th of June in a letter from Colonel Clive to Mr. Drake, the governor, who immediately communicated it to the council. The victory was deemed deciſive; and all reſtraints of ſecrecy being now removed, the purport of the treaties were immediately revealed by the members of the council to all they met. In a few minutes all the inhabitants of the town, impatient to hear or tell, were in the ſtreets. The reſtitution of public and private property; the donations to the ſquadron, the army, and individuals; the grants to the company; the privileges to the Engliſh commerce; the compariſon of the proſperity of this day with the calamities in which the colony was overwhelmed at this very ſeaſon in the preceding year: in a word, this ſudden reverſe and profuſion of good fortune intoxicated the ſteadieſt minds, and hurried every one into the exceſſes of intemperate joy; even envy and hatred forgot their energies, and were reconciled, at leaſt for a while, to familiarity and good-will; for every one ſaw that his own portion of advantages was intimately and inſeparably blended with that of every other perſon in the ſettlement.

The preſidency immediately prepared a veſſel to carry theſe welcome tidings to England. Mr. Maningham, who had been deputed from Fulta to Madraſs, chancing to return at this time to Calcutta, was immediately ſent to Muxadavad, where Colonel Clive, Mr. Watts, and himſelf, were appointed to act as a committee in the management of all public affairs. Their firſt care was to get the money ſtipulated by the treaties. Roydoolub perſiſted in his aſſertions of the ſcantineſs of Surajah Dowlah's treaſury, and endeavoured to prove them by facts which were not true. At length, after a variety of diſcuſſions and equivocations, the committee by the 6th of July received, in coined ſilver, 7,271,666 rupees. This treaſure was packed up in 700 cheſts, and laden in 100 boats, which proceeded under the care of ſoldiers to Nudiah; from whence they

1757. July. were eſcorted by all the boats of the ſquadron and many others, proceeding with banners diſplayed and muſick ſounding, as a triumphal proceſſion, to contraſt that in which the inhabitants of the Ganges had ſeen Surajah Dowlah returning the year before from the deſtruction of Calcutta. Never before did the Engliſh nation at one time obtain ſuch a prize in ſolid money; for it amounted (in the mint) to 800,000 pounds ſterling. From real or pretended difficulties, no more money was received until the 9th of Auguſt, when Roydoolub paid 1,655,358 rupees; and on the 30th of the ſame month he delivered gold, jewels, and caſh, amounting to 1,599,737 rupees: the three payments amounted to 10,765,737 rupees. The whole ſum agreed to be paid, as one half of the ſtipulations of the treaty, was 11,350,000 rupees: the deficiency, 584,905, was ſtill delayed; but the commiſſion which had been promiſed was paid to Roydoolub.

During the receipts of the money the committee had likewiſe attended to the other articles of the treaty. A mint was eſtabliſhed at Calcutta, and the firſt rupees were coined there on the 19th of Auguſt. Agents were ſent to re-eſtabliſh the ſubordinate factories. Mandates from the Nabob were iſſued for the freedom of the Engliſh trade throughout the province, but permitting it only under the uſual paſſport of the company's duſtuck, and without exemption from the former prohibitions of dealing in any commodities, excepting ſuch as were imported, or were purchaſed to be exported to ſea. It was difficult to define the limits of the lands ceded to the company, ſouth of Calcutta, for they had never been ſurveyed by the government: and great quantities of ſalt being manufactured in the diſtricts neareſt the ſea, the tenants and renters, who gained much by this commodity, were averſe to the introduction of new maſters, who, as merchants, might wiſh to appropriate this trade to themſelves: their patrons, reſenting the loſs of thoſe preſents and advantages, which they received for their protection, ſuggeſted every obſtacle to prevent the Nabob from giving theſe diſtricts to the Engliſh; and prevailed ſo far, that it was agreed the company ſhould

not

not exerciſe any authority in them, until all the lands had been ſurveyed, and every man's poſſeſſion aſcertained. 1757. July.

All the proſperities which had been imagined on the news of the battle of Plaſſy were now realized in Calcutta. A committee of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants were appointed to diſtribute the money received for the reſtitution of the loſſes of individuals, and executed the office with much diſcretion and equity. Commerce revived throughout the ſettlement, and affluence began to ſpread in every houſe; but as it is the nature of man to err with great changes of fortune, many, not content with the undiſputed advantages accruing from the revolution, immediately began to trade in ſalt and other articles, which had hitherto been prohibited to all Europeans; and Meer Jaffier complained of theſe encroachments within a month after his acceſſion, which, although checked for the preſent, were afterwards renewed, and at laſt produced much more miſchief than even diſintereſted ſagacity could have foreſeen.

Admiral Watſon barely lived to ſee the effects of thoſe ſucceſſes, to which his conduct had ſo much contributed: he died on the 16th of Auguſt, after five days illneſs, of the malignant fever peculiar at this ſeaſon of the year to the lower climate of Bengal. The frankneſs and integrity of his nature, and his zeal for the honour of his nation, had endeared him to all ranks of his countrymen, whereſoever he appeared in India.

In this interval continual advices had been received from Major Coote of the progreſs of his detachment, which had met with even more interruptions than might have been expected from the inſufficiencies of the outſet. The boats, for want of rowers, could not be towed as faſt as the troops marched on ſhore, which obliged him, before they arrived at the head of the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, to preſs 87 men out of three large trading boats which were coming down the river. On the 10th of July, which was the 4th day after their departure from Muxadavad, the troops, and on the 11th the boats, arrived at Rajahmahal, 40 miles beyond Muxadavad, where a brother of Meer Jaffier commanded; he had ſent 120 horſe to meet the detachment on the road, and promiſed every other kind of aſſiſtance, but

1757. July. but afforded none. However, after five days delay, the boats were repaired, but the horſemen refuſed to proceed without two months pay, which Major Coote had neither money or orders to furniſh: he therefore continued his march without them on the 13th, and on the 18th arrived at Boglipore, which is 65 miles from Rajahmahal. Here he received intelligence, that Mr. Law's party had four days before paſſed the city of Patna, which is 55 miles beyond Boglipore. Major Coote left this place on the 19th, and was followed the next day by 60 horſemen, ſent by the governor under the command of his ſon. On the 21ſt, the horſemen, troops, and boats, arrived at Mongheir, which by the road is 35 miles farther. The garriſon, on the appearance of the detachment, who expected to have been admitted into the fort, manned the ramparts, and ſhewed their lighted matches, which obliged the troops to march round the walls. On the 23d they arrived at Burhia, 30 miles farther on. By this time ſo many miſchances had happened to the fleet of boats, ſeveral having been loſt, others ſtranded, and ſome continually breaking from the towing lines, that Major Coote landed the field-pieces and ammunition at Burhia, and the ſame evening proceeded ſix miles farther to Darriapore. At two in the afternoon of the next day the troops arrived at Panarack, 11 miles farther. During this march all the European ſoldiers were holding mutinous language in complaints of their hardſhips and fatigues. Major Coote, impatient to reach Patna, reſolved to reſerve their chaſtiſement until he arrived there, but, as an immediate diſgrace, put them all into the boats, and the ſame evening marched himſelf at the head of the Sepoys 5 miles farther to the town of Bahar. Proceeding with them the next day, which was the 25th, whilſt the Europeans were following at leiſure, he arrived at night at Futwah, which is 26 miles from Bahar, and only ſeven from Patna. During this day's march he received two letters, and they were the firſt, from Ramnaraim, apologizing for the eſcape of the French party, and imputing it to the want of timely notice from Meer Jaffier. Soon after a deputation of his principal officers arrived at Futwah, under the pretence of compliment, but in reality to obſerve the force, and diſcover the inten-

intentions, of Major Coote. They informed him that Ramnarain had returned only two days before from an expedition againſt two diſobedient chiefs of Moy and Sader, whoſe diſtricts lay about 30 [redacted]s ſouth-eaſt of Patna; that immediately on his return he had [redacted]laimed Meer Jaffier Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa; that [redacted]had ſent forward 2000 of his troops, horſe and foot, in purſuit of [redacted]. Law, and that he had diſbanded the greateſt part of the reſt. [redacted]e next day, the 26th, at ten in the forenoon, the whole detachment, as well as the boats, arrived at the Engliſh factory, which is a ſpacious building ſituated on the bank of the river, juſt without the weſtern wall of the city. Major Coote immediately prepared to viſit Ramnarain, but was prevented by a meſſage, deſiring him to take ſome repoſe, and to defer his viſit until the next day: in the afternoon three Europeans and ſome Sepoys, who were leading ſome cattle to the factory, were, without provocation, aſſaulted and wounded by a number of Peons belonging to the garriſon. Complaint was immediately made to Ramnarain, who ſhewed no inclination to redreſs the outrage; and moreover deſired Major Coote not to viſit him, as was intended, the next day, leſt the ceremonial ſhould give occaſion to quarrels betwixt their reſpective attendants. An Engliſh officer, likewiſe, walking in the town, overheard two men of condition, who did not ſuppoſe him to underſtand their language, talking of a deſign to maſſacre the Engliſh detachment. In the night many of the Europeans got drunk, and 30 of the moſt diſorderly, who had likewiſe been foremoſt in the mutiny on the road, were ſelected, and confined for puniſhment. 1757. July.

The next day Major Coote conferred with Mahmud Amy the brother, and Meer Coſſum, the brother in law, of Meer Jaffier. They informed him that the French party might eaſily have been ſtopped, if Ramnarain had ſo willed; that, on hearing of the death of Surajah Dowlah, he had ſent to Sujah Dowlah, the neighbouring and powerful ſubah of Oude, propoſing to render himſelf independent of Bengal, if Sujah Dowlah would aſſiſt him with his forces, and requeſting him to protect the French party on the frontiers, until it might be neceſſary to recal them to Patna; that Su-

1757. July. jah Dowlah encouraged his views, but was prevented by events, which more immediately concerned himſelf, from marching with his army into Bahar. They likewiſe aſſerted that Ramnarain had conſulted his confidents on the means of deſtroying the Engliſh detachment. This information determined the Major to proceed with all expedition to the frontiers of Oude.

The next day the 30 mutineers were tried and flogged; this puniſhment was judged adequate to their offence, becauſe of the great fatigues they had endured: for they had marched from Rajamahol to Patna in eleven days and a half, without the intermiſſion of one day's halt, and the diſtance, meaſured by a perambulator, is 201 miles.

A day paſſed in making preparations for the outſet; but all the attendants of the camp, and many of the boatmen, finding they were to go farther, took fright and ran away; and it was impoſſible to collect others without the aſſiſtance of the government, which Ramnarain promiſed, but did not ſupply half the requiſite number. However in this and the ſucceeding day all the boats, as well as the troops, aſſembled at Bankipore, a garden belonging to the company about five miles from the city, and on the ſame ſide of the river. The next day the detachment moved ſix miles farther to Dinapore, and Auguſt. the day after, which was the firſt of Auguſt, joined the troops which Ramnarain pretended to have ſent forward in purſuit of Mr. Law, with whom they halted at Moneah, a conſiderable town fifteen miles from Dinapore, ſituated at the confluence of the river Soan with the Ganges, where Hybutjung, their commander, refuſed to proceed any farther. The troops of the detachment, with their ammunition; croſſed the Ganges, and marched on the other ſide, whilſt the bullocks, baggage, and attendants, croſſed the Soan, and proceeded along the ſouthern ſide of the Ganges until they came oppoſite to Chuprah, when it took three days to ferry them over; for the bed of the river is in this part three miles broad, and the officer of the diſtrict failed to furniſh the boats and other aſſiſtances he had promiſed. At Chuprah the company have a houſe eſtabliſhed to collect ſalt-petre, of which great quantities are made in this, and ſome

of

of the neighbouring diſtricts. Here intelligence was obtained, that the ſeveral chiefs in this part of Behar had enliſted forces to aſſiſt Ramnarain; and ſpies reported that they had left Mr. Law's party at [redacted]harez, which is by the road at leaſt 140 miles beyond Chuprah, that they were ſupplied there by Bulwanſing, the Rajah of the [redacted]rict, who was dependant on Sujah Dowlah the ſubah of Oude. [redacted]ther purſuit was evidently vain, but certain of producing immediate hoſtilities with Sujah Dowlah, whoſe territory commenceth at the river Dewah, which diſembogues into the Ganges 18 miles to the weſt of Chuprah. The Major, therefore, reſolved to wait here for farther orders, and on the 12th received a letter from Colonel Clive, inſtructing him, as a ſcheme of Meer Jaffier's, to return to Patna, and endeavour, in concert with Mahmud Amy Cawn, to wreſt the government from Ramnarain. The troops, leaving the baggage to follow, embarked early the next morning; and ſuch is the ſtrength of the ſtream at this ſeaſon of the year, that they arrived at Patna by noon, although the diſtance along the courſe of the river is 44 miles. It appeared to the Major that the only means of executing his inſtructions would be to aſſault the citadel, in which Ramnarain always reſided, and at this time only with 2000 men; but Mahmud Amy repreſented that their force was not ſufficient to inveſt it ſo cloſely as to prevent Ramnarain from eſcaping by ſome of the ſecret paſſages, and propoſed to defer the attempt until he himſelf ſhould be joined by 1500 of Ramnarain's troops, whom he had engaged to deſert. 1757.

But by this time Ramnarain had taken the alarm, probably by information from his friends at Muxadavad of the orders ſent to Major Coote and Mahmud Amy, which, confirmed by the haſty return of the detachment from Chuprah, frightened him ſo much, that he now ſpared no attentions to the Major, and received his viſit with much affectation of complacence. Two days after, the Major received a letter from Meer Jaffier, fraught with ſuſpicions that Mahmud Amy had born falſe witneſs againſt Ramnarain, as a pretext for levying forces, with the intention of ſeizing the government for himſelf. Enough has not been diſcovered of the ſecrets

1757. August. of Jaffier to account for this abrupt change and contradiction of an opinion, which had hitherto been the greateſt anxiety of his mind. His letter, however, precluded all farther intentions of hoſtility; and on the 22d a conference was held by appointment in the citadel, to diſcuſs and reconcile all differences. Major Coote and the two brothers, Mahmud Amy and Meer Coſſim, came each with ſtrong eſcorts, and Ramnarain was attended by all his principal officers. The two brothers, with the calmneſs peculiar to the manners of Indoſtan, accuſed him of a deſign to aſſaſſinate them, which indeed had been reported in the city; then of his intention to rebel againſt Meer Jaffier, in proof of which they urged his connivance at the paſſage of the French troops through Behar, the oaths he had taken from the officers of his army, his correſpondence and propoſals to Sujah Dowlah. Ramnarain ſolemnly denied all theſe accuſations, and produced a letter he had juſt received from Sujah Dowlah, which indicated no ſuch intentions as were imputed to their correſpondence: he then ſaid, it was true, that he had been attached to the late Nabob, becauſe his fortunes had been raiſed by the princes of his family; but now that Surajah Dowlah was no more, and none of his family remaining worthy or capable of the government, on whom ſhould he ſo naturally wiſh to depend as on Meer Jaffier, whom their common patron, Allaverdy, had raiſed ſo near his own perſon and dignity. He then called a bramin, and, in the preſence of his officers, and a crowd of attendants, ſolemnly ſwore allegiance and fidelity to Meer Jaffier, and friendſhip and goodwill to Meer Coſſim and Mahmud Amy. The two brothers returned the compliment, by taking an oath on the koran that their heart was clear of all ill-will to Ramnarain, and ſhould continue ſo. They then embraced him, and all the three Major Coote, as the mediator of this reconciliation. Nevertheleſs, neither ſide believed the other, but each wiſhed to gain time, and to wait events: for Ramnarain knew that the orders from Muxadavad would prevent Major Coote and the brothers of Meer Jaffier from acting againſt him at preſent; and they knew that he, diſappointed of the aſſiſtance

ance of Sujah Dowlah, would be ſubmiſſive, until he was better prepared to aſſert independence. 1757. August.

Before this conference Meer Jaffier had determined to recall the detachment; but Major Coote did not receive the orders to return [redacted]he beginning of September, and in the interval the troops re[redacted]d, uninterrupted by any alarms, in the company's factory an[redacted]g to the city. All proceeded in the boats, which left Patna [redacted]e 7th of September, and arrived in ſeven days at Muxadavad, [redacted]ugh the diſtance is 300 miles.

The confederacies of ambition are as liable to be broken by ſucceſs as diſappointment. Meer Jaffier had many relations; and not only they, but all others who were his adherents or dependants before his acceſſion to the Nabobſhip, thought they had the beſt right to partake of the change of his fortunes; and thoſe, who without previous connexion had acquieſced to the revolution, thought their title better. But the donations to the Engliſh had exhauſted the treaſury, and none of the officers of the government could be removed without infringing the declarations by which Jaffier had obtained the general ſubmiſſion to his ſovereignty, and which Clive had ratified. Some money had been diſtributed amongſt the army of the government, but much leſs than their expectations; and their diſcontent acquired preſumption by the complaints of the whole populace of Muxadavad, who had beheld with deteſtation the gold and ſilver of the capital oſtentatiouſly carried away by foreigners. A large ſum ſtill remained due of the firſt half of the treaty-monies, and the term of the firſt payment of the ſecond half was approaching, for it fell in October; and the committee at Muxadavad were continually preſſing the treaſury for the balance already due.

There is no prince in Indoſtan, who does not try every means to avoid the payment of money, ſtipulated at a diſtant period; and Meer Jaffier imagined his liberalities to individuals, who were the heads of the Engliſh nation, would relax their ſtrictneſs in the public terms. But Colonel Clive had neither aſked, nor ſtipulated for the preſents he had received; and having refuſed every other offer from the various intereſts which compoſed the government, thought their

1757. August. obligations mutual, and maintained the independency of his command. Neither Jaffier nor his ſon had ſuſpected this ſternneſs in his character. He not only inſiſted on the payments of the treaty-monies, as they became due, but, when tampered with to approve changes in the army and adminiſtration, which Jaffier wiſhed to make in order to gratify his own favourites, Clive let him underſtand, that he would permit none, as deeming them dangerous to the public tranquillity, and contrary to declarations, ſanctified by his own. Jaffier felt theſe reſtraints with abomination, which turned his head to notions of emancipating himſelf from the aſcendance of the Engliſh; but, warned by the experience of the confederacy which had raiſed him to the ſovereignty, ſaw the neceſſity of firſt breaking the power of the Gentoos, in whom the Engliſh would find the ſame reſources againſt himſelf, as he with the Engliſh had derived from them againſt Surajah Dowlah. Roydoolub, as the head of the Gentoo line, was firſt to be deſtroyed; but, dreading the ſagacity of Clive, Jaffier determined to ſet nothing in motion which might awaken his ſuſpicions, whilſt he remained at Muxadavad; and in the interval, both he and his ſon Meerum carried themſelves to him with every appearance of openneſs and confidence, and Clive often partook of the familiarity of their private amuſements.

On the 14th of September, the day after the detachment from Patna arrived at Muxadavad, Clive went away to Calcutta, leaving Watts, Maningham, and Scrafton, to tranſact the company's affairs with the Nabob and his miniſters. The detachment from Patna was ſtationed in the factory at Coſſimbuzar; the reſt of the troops, which had ſerved at Plaſſy, were ſent down the river, and quartered at Chandernagore, as a more healthy ſituation than Calcutta.

We ſhall now return to the affairs of Coromandel and the Decan.

END *of the* SEVENTH BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK VIII.

THE preſidency of Madraſs received no intelligence concerning the ſucceſs of the armament to Bengal, before the 15th of February, between which day and the 22d, advices arrived, by various veſſels, of the re-capture of Calcutta, the attack of the Nabob's camp, and of the treaty made with him on the 11th of that month, in which conjuncture Colonel Clive gave hopes that he ſhould ſoon return with a great part of the troops. On the 21ſt Admiral Pocock arrived, as we have ſaid, from Vizagapatam, landed the remaining ſoldiers of the Company's troops, received 100, the ſame number of ſailors, and ſailed the next day to rejoin the ſquadron in Bengal. 1757. February.

According to the principle adopted on the departure of the armament, the Preſidency had continued to avoid all hoſtilities in the Carnatic; but the failure of Lieutenant Rumbold's negotiation with the Jemautdars of Madura, in November, raiſed no improbable apprehenſions, that the influence of the government of Pondicherry would, if it had not already, ſoon inſinuate itſelf into their councils, unleſs immediately interrupted by ſome exertion; and the dangerous conſequences which would enſue, determined the preſidency to revoke the reſtraint they had laid on Captain Calliaud not to engage in any military operations from Tritchinopoly; and in the end of the year, they allowed him to employ ſuch means as he ſhould think expedient, for the reduction of Madura, and permitted him to command the expedition in perſon; they likewiſe ſent ſeveral officers,

1757. March. officers, with ſome ſtores and ammunition, which the garriſon of Trichinopoly could not ſpare without diminiſhing its own complements: they went by ſea to Devicotah, from whence they were to proceed through the Tanjore country.

Captain Calliaud, whilſt waiting for theſe ſupplies, went to Tanjore, as well to obtain troops from the King, as to make peace between him and Tondiman; for Monacjee in the beginning of the year had taken the fort of *Killanelly*, which had been ſo long the object of contention between them; but found the difference, as before, irreconcilable; nevertheleſs, both profered every aſſiſtance in their power. On the 23d of March, he ſet out from Tritchinopoly, with 150 Europeans, including artillery-men, 500 Sepoys, and two field-pieces, and on the 25th arrived at *Anawaſkul*, a town belonging to Tondiman, 20 miles from Tritchinopoly, where they were joined by 1000 of his horſe, and 100 of his Colleries. On the 29th they arrived on the frontiers of the leſſer Moravar's country, who being likewiſe frequently called the *Nellicotah* Polygar, we ſhall in future diſtinguiſh him from the greater Moravar by that title. Here they expected 500 horſe from Tanjore; but none were arrived, or near. Scouts ſent forward reported, that all the roads and paths in the country before them were obſtructed with trees freſh cut down and ſtrewed acroſs the way, and that numbers of Colleries were every where ready to diſpute the paſſage. Meſſengers were ſent to enquire the reaſon. The Polygar ſaid, that being at enmity with Tanjore, and knowing that Calliaud had aſked the king for a body of horſe, he had barred his woods, being determined not to admit any Tanjorines into his country. Calliaud, being by this time convinced that the King, notwithſtanding his promiſes, did not intend to ſend any, made a merit of rejecting what he was not likely to obtain, and aſſured the Polygar he would not accept of their aſſiſtance; on which all obſtacles were removed, and the troops, after a halt of three days, entered his country on the 4th of March. In ſeven days more, of which they halted during the third at *Mangalum*, they arrived at *Paralachy*, the laſt town they had to paſs in the diſtricts of the greater Moravar,

having

having received every kind of hoſpitality in the countries of both Polygars. Excepting the feet of a few miſſionaries, this track had never before been trodden by any Europeans. At Mangalum, Calliaud met the brother of the Nellicotah; and at Paralachy, the principal man of the greater Moravar: and learnt from them that the two Polygars and Tondiman had entered into a league to attack the king of Tanjore with all their forces united; on the very next attempt he should make againſt the territories of either of the three. The troops having halted a day at Paralachy, continued their march to Tinivelly, through the open country, in diſtricts belonging to this government. 1757. March.

The Pulitaver, with the Polygars of his alliance, had taken the field in the middle of January, as ſoon as Maphuze Khan arrived at Nellitangaville: their force amounted to 10,000 men, and the cavalry of Madura under the command of Berhatoolah, to one thouſand. This army moved by ſlow ſtages to the eaſtward, the Colleries plundering day and night on either hand, and at length encamped before *Panialumcrutch*, at this time the principal reſidence of Catabominaigue, the chief of the eaſtern Polygars, and demanded his aſſiſtance; who, dreading the deſtruction that would follow his refuſal, complied, and joined them with 3 or 4000 men. But the Polygar of *Etiaporum*, the next in importance, made ſome pretence to withhold his troops, for which the Pulitaver was not ſorry; and the army marched from Panialumcrutch directly to Tinivelly, ſtill plundering all the way; but were deterred from attacking the town itſelf, by the activity of the Company's Sepoys ſtationed there under the command of Buſſiponaigue. Returning with their plunder to the northward, they ravaged all the acceſſible and cultivated diſtricts belonging to Etiaporum in revenge for his neutrality; and from hence ſent off a detachment with their booty, amongſt which were 5000 beeves, to Nellitangaville. In this while Mahomed Iſſoof the commandant, and Moodilee the renter of theſe countries, not being certified which way Calliaud would direct his march, expected that he would come in ſomewhere near Madura, and remained at Chevelpetore, under the hills to the weſt, until

1757. March. until they received intelligence that the enemy were marching from Panialumcrutch towards Tinivelly; on which they moved to intercept their return, and beſides other Polygars of leſs note were accompanied by Vaniah of Sevagherry, a very large Collery fort ſituated at the foot of the hills about 20 miles ſouth of Chevelpetore; but the enemy had followed their plunder from Etiaporum, and were arrived at Nellitangaville before Iſſoof could interſect their return: he nevertheleſs, when thus far, remained in the diſtricts mid-way between Chevelpetore and Tinivelly, as the beſt poſition to watch their future movements, until he received orders from captain Calliaud to repair to, and wait for him at this town; in conſequence of which, he proceeded and arrived there on the 28th of February. The enemy no ſooner ſaw him removing to a greater diſtance, than they again came out, and proceeded to Alwar courchy, a town about 20 miles to the weſtward of Tinivelly, where Moodilee had lately thrown up a mud fort, on which he had mounted three pieces of cannon, and placed in it 150 Peons and Sepoys under the command of his nephew, Algapah. The enemy attacked the fort, which, after more reſiſtance than might have been expected, ſurrendered, and Algapah was ſent a priſoner to Nelletangaville. Intelligence of this loſs was brought to Tinivelly on the 4th of March, in the evening, and at 8 o'clock, Mahomed Iſſoof marched with the greateſt part of his own force, and all of the Polygars his allies. At 7 the next morning they came in ſight of Alwar courchy, and were ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy's army, of which the cavalry of Madura were moſt to be apprehended. The fight continued in a variety of ſkirmiſhes, until the evening, when the enemy quitted the fort and the field. The Polygar of *Outamalee* had both his legs ſtruck off by a cannon ball, and the general of the Pulitaver's men was likewiſe killed: of their troops 2 or 300 were ſuppoſed to be killed or wounded; of Mahomed Iſſoof's only ſix Sepoys were killed and 30 wounded; however, the action was eſteemed a compleat victory, and to fix it as ſuch in the opinion of the country, he marched forward to *Shenganpetty*, a fort in the hills belonging to the Polygar of Vadagary, ſituated about 16 miles to the north-weſt of Alvar courchy.

The guard abandoned the fort before it was attacked; and Mahomed Iſſoof, leaving 100 Sepoys to garriſon it, diſmiſſed the Polygars, and returned with the renter's and the Company's troops to Tinivelly, where Calliaud with his detachment arrived on the 17th. 1757. March.

The force now aſſembled at Tinivelly was formidable, but could not proceed to action for want of money, which the renter Modilee, from whom it was expected, was not able to furniſh; and the ſhroffs had for ſome time been deterred from ſupplying him by their apprehenſions from the animoſity which exiſted between him and Mahomed Iſſoof. Captain Calliaud with much difficulty reconciled their differences, at leaſt to appearance, and ſo far as to induce the ſhroffs to lend 200,000 rupees, which were immediately diſburſed in diſcharging the arrears due to the troops, and other military expences. The Polygar Catabominaigue was at this time celebrating a great wedding in his family at Panialumcrutch; to which, as uſual, the whole country round was invited, and Moodilee as a principal gueſt. He went, and having long been in habits of acquaintance and buſineſs with the Polygar, fixed him in the intereſt of the company, and concluded an alliance with him againſt the confederates with whom he had lately united, as well as all other enemies. In return, the Polygar requeſted that ſome compenſation might be made to his dependant of Etiaporum, for the ravages which his country had lately ſuſtained in conſequence of his refuſal to join the rebels; and Calliaud, having ſeen the effects as he marched through, remitted a part of the fine due on the hoſtages of Etiaporum, who ſtill remained unredeemed with Tondiman. Whilſt theſe affairs were adjuſting, the ſouthern monſoon ſetting in on the Coaſt of Malabar, broke over the weſtern range of mountains with the utmoſt violence, and deſcending, with the cataracts it had formed, into the plain, deluged the whole country to the eaſtern ſea: the ſtorm, rain, and inundation, continued without intermiſſion for two days and two nights: the harveſts, juſt ripe, were ſwept away, and with them the habitations of the cultivators: the rains continued ſeveral days after the winds had abated; it required many days labour and ſunſhine to drain and dry the ground, and more time to repair the

1757. March. devaſtation which the agriculture of the country had ſuffered; during which an epidemic ſickneſs broke out, and carried off many of the diſtreſſed inhabitants by ſudden deaths, which the patient ſimplicity and ſuperſtition of their character imputed to the viſitation of a goddeſs, *Lacheme*, coming, they knew not whence, from the North. The ſhroffs, who had lent money to Moodilee on the mortgaged harveſt, would not ſuffer him to depart until they ſaw the country recovering; which obliged Captain Calliaud to remain at Tinivelly ſome time longer, in order to ſuperintend and encourage the various operations which were neceſſary to reſtore the cultivation.

The Preſidency, whilſt waiting the reſult of this expedition, had, howſoever unwilling, been obliged to engage in hoſtilities in the Carnatic. The Nabob, in the beginning of the year, had demanded of his brother Nazeabulla, the governor of *Nelore*, a ſubſidy of 100,000 rupees above the uſual tribute; which the country could afford to pay, having ſuffered little from the diſtreſſes of the war, to which the reſt of the Carnatic had ſo long been expoſed; but Nazeabulla equivocated and apologized. Ichlaſs Khan, the brother of the Nabob's buxey or general, marching at this time with 500 horſe, and other troops, to collect the tributes of the northern Polygars, advanced as far as Serapely, a fort 12 miles ſouth of Nelore, and propoſed an interview with Nazeabulla, who accepted the viſit, giving his oath on the Koran; but requeſted Ichlaſs Khan to come with few attendants, leſt quarrels ſhould ariſe between them and his own. The viſit produced no change in Nazeabulla's excuſes for not paying the money, and Ichlaſs Khan left the city in the evening without harm; but, after it grew dark, his eſcort was attacked by an ambuſcade of matchlock-men in the buſhes near the road, and one of them was killed. The Nabob imputed this outrage to the inſtigation and example of his other brother Maphuze Khan at Madura, and of an adventurer Meerſaeb, who was in poſſeſſion of Elavanaſore, and plundering wherever he liſted. The anguiſh which the Nabob expreſſed at this ſecond rebellion riſing in his own family, determined the preſidency to comply with his earneſt requeſt to reduce

duce Nazeabulla; but his troops were not ready to march from Arcot before the 1ſt of April, although the outrage happened on 21ſt of February; during which Ichlaſs Khan was waiting for them with his detachment at Kalaſtry, the town of the polygar Damerlah Venketappah-naigue, 70 miles to the s. w. of Nelore. The force from Madraſs was only 100 Europeans, the company of 56 coffrees, and 300 Sepoys, with one 18 pounder, three ſix-pounders, four cohorns, and one howitz. Lieutenant Colonel Ford, of Adlercron's regiment, was appointed to command the expedition. The Sepoys and bullocks proceeded by land. The Europeans and Coffrees, with the artillery and ſtores, embarked on the firſt of April, in a ſhip and a ſloop, which anchored the next afternoon oppoſite to the mouth of the river Kandeler, ſeven miles to the North of Kiſtnapatam, a town of conſiderable trade, from whence they expected the uſual aſſiſtances of the port; but the inhabitants, intimidated by the threats of Nazeabulla, abandoned the town on the appearance of the veſſels, which were employed ſeven days in effecting the diſembarkation with two maſſoolas they had brought from Madraſs. During this interval the Sepoys and bullocks arrived; but coolies and more bullocks were neceſſary before the detachment could move from Kiſtnapatam, and the Nabob's army from Arcot was not near enough to ſupply them before the 22d of the month. 1757. April.

The next day Colonel Forde marched, and on the 25th joined the Nabob's army at Serapely, which was commanded by his brother Abdullwahab, and had been encreaſed by the troops of the polygars Bangar Yatcham and Damerlah Venketappah, and all together amounted to 10,000 men, of which 3000 were cavalry. On the 27th the army encamped before Nelore. This town ſtands about 500 yards to the ſouth of the river Pennar, extending about 1200 yards from eaſt to weſt, and 600 on the other ſides. The walls were of mud, and only the gateways and a few of the towers of ſtone. The parapet was ſix feet high, with many port-holes for ſmall arms, made of pipes of baked clay, laid in the moiſt mud, whilſt raiſing, and afterwards

1757. April. conſolidating with the maſs; the common method of forming theſe defences in India: the ditch had no water, and was in many parts much choaked by drifts of ſand. Nazeabulla, on the approach of Abdulwahab, had gone away with 1500 horſe, and left the city to be defended by a reſolute officer, with a garriſon of 4000 Peons, who were inſtructed and aſſiſted by 20 Frenchmen, ſent from Maſulipatam. The Engliſh troops encamped along the river in face of the town, the Nabob's and the Polygar's at a diſtance higher up.

On the 29th, the eighteen-pounder, with the field-pieces, together with the cohorns and howitz, began to fire from the mound of a tank at the diſtance of 300 yards; but by miſtake againſt the ſtrongeſt part of the wall, on which, in four days, they made no May. impreſſion. In the night of the 2d of May, all the artillery was moved to a battery erected about 200 yards to the left, and 100 nearer the wall, which in this part was viſibly in a ruinous condition. The 18 pounder fired briſkly during the next day, and by the evening made a breach which appeared practicable; and hitherto only one man had been wounded by the enemy's fire, which had been very few cannon-ſhot, but continual from ſmall arms. The next day Abdulwahab ſummoned the governor, who anſwered with civility, that he could not deliver the fort to any one without a poſitive order from Nazeabulla, whoſe ſalt he eat. It was therefore reſolved to ſtorm the next morning; but, during this interval the garriſon had been diligently employed in counterworking the breach. On each ſide they cut a broad trench through the rampart, and another on the ground within, which joined at right angles with thoſe from the rampart, and encloſed a ſpace of ſome yards ſquare; theſe trenches were to be defended by men armed with long pikes, whilſt numbers ſtationed, ſome along the ramparts, ſome in various pits dug for the occaſion, and others in the adjacent houſes, were to annoy the aſſailants, when on the breach, with ſtones, arrows, and fire-arms, to which their own pikemen, being intrenched breaſt-high, would be little expoſed. At ſun-riſe the Engliſh troops advanced to the aſſault. The 300 Sepoys marched firſt; the company of Coffrees next; the Europeans in the rear. The enemy fired

briſkly

briſkly as the line was approaching, and more eſpecially from the tower on the left of the breach, that Col. Forde ordered a ſix- poun der from the battery, which, at the diſtance of a hundred yar ds, kept up a conſtant fire on the parapet of this tower, more indeed with the hope of intimidating, than the expectation of doing any detriment. The few firſt Sepoys who got up the breach were immediately ſtopped by the pikes from advancing either forwards, or on either hand, and had ſcarcely diſcharged their muſkets before they were all wounded; on which thoſe immediately behind ran down in confuſion, and the whole body in an inſtant broke; but diſperſed to the right and left of the reſt of the line. The Coffrees, led by Enſign Elliot, took their place without trepidation, and having mounted, maintained their ground on the breach gallantly, endeavouring, after they had fired, to break down the pikes with their muſkets, and even to puſh into the trenches: but in vain, for, in a few minutes, four of them were killed, and thirteen, with Lieutenant Elliot, wounded; on which the reſt were called down. The Europeans, who during this conteſt had remained thronged at the foot of thebreach, now mounted, every man as he ſtood neareſt, without regard to rank, order, or command. This aſſault continued half an hour, during which Capt. Hunt was ſhot with an arrow, Callender and Richard Smith, and Mr. Alexander, the commiſſary, were bruiſed with ſtones, and with them four of the ſoldiers killed, and 27 wounded on the breach, and the enemy ſtill as active as ever; on which Colonel Forde, who was at the foot of the wall, ordered the retreat, which was made with more hurry than became troops who had hitherto behaved with ſo much courage; for every man, inſtead of waiting for his officers and colours, ran as faſt as he could to take ſhelter in the battery, and all paſſed the field-piece without ſtopping to bring it away, until Captain Richard Smith, who, in rotation of duty, brought up the rear, halted with a few of his own company, and afterwards, with the aſſiſtance of ſome of the Nabob's horſemen, who were near, dragged the field-piece to the battery; during which two of his ſerjeants, and two of the horſemen, were wounded from the walls. The Nabob's army, during

1757. May.

1757. May. ing the aſſault, advanced in ſeveral bodies againſt different parts of the town, but their appearance no where withdrew the attention of the garriſon from the defence of the breach.

The vent of the eighteen-pounder being run, it was impoſſible to renew the attack until other battering cannon arrived from Madraſs; but Colonel Forde had already been informed by the preſidency, that the French troops were acting in the field, and threatened deſigns which might render it neceſſary to recall his detachment. By the 13th the wounded were ſufficiently recovered to march; and no determination being as yet received from the preſidency, Colonel Forde, in compliance with the repeated requeſts of Abdulwahab, croſſed the Pennar with the whole army in purſuit of Nazeabulla, who, it was ſaid, ſtill continued in the neighbourhood: on the 15th they halted at Sangam, a pagoda of note 30 miles weſt of Nelore, where they were informed that Nazeabulla had quitted the country, and was gone to the French at Condavir; on which the army returned the next day towards Serapely, but by another road, leaving Nelore to the left. On the way Colonel Forde met ſeveral letters, ſignifying the encreaſing apprehenſions of the preſidency; and on his arrival at Serapely, received expreſs orders to return with the utmoſt expedition to Madraſs.

The government of Pondicherry, with the advices of the declaration of war againſt Great Britain, received orders to refrain from any military operations of riſque, until the great armament preparing in France ſhould arrive; which injunctions they had implicitly obeyed: but when they ſaw Madraſs dividing its force, although not ſtronger than their own, on ſervices at ſuch diſtance from each other, as Nelore and Tinivelly, they thought they too might attempt ſome acquiſition without much danger. However, they began with great caution. On the 6th of April, the day after the Engliſh troops embarked for Nelore, a body of 200 Europeans, and 1000 Sepoys, which had for ſome time lain encamped to the weſtward of Pondicherry, marched under the command of Mr. D'Auteuil, who had lately returned from France; they proceeded, giving out ſome other objects,

objects, to cover their real intentions, which were to fall upon Elavanaſore by ſurprize. 1757. May.

This place is ſituated about 60 miles weſt of Pondicherry; it conſiſts of a fort and a pettah both ſtanding on a plain, and neither having any difficult defences: the diſtricts are of no great extent, but extremely fertile. Before the truce between Mr. Saunders and Godeheu, it was taken poſſeſſion of by an adventurer named Meer Allumodean, but more generally known by the name of Meer Saheb, who procured his confirmation from the Nabob, then at Tritchinopoly. Under this ſanction, he maintained a much greater force, eſpecially of horſe, than the incomes of his government could afford, and ſupported them by plundering the neighbouring diſtricts, pretending, that the managers of them were attached to the French. In an excurſion immediately after the truce in 1755, he plundered all the French diſtricts between Seringham and Pondicherry, when the preſidency of Madraſs rebuking his proceedings, he made retribution to the French government, who permitted him to keep a ſmall fort he had taken from them in the neighbourhood of Elavanaſore, named Oullagellinoor. This ceſſion raiſed ſuſpicions in the Nabob, who propoſed that the Engliſh detachment, which eſcorted him ſoon after from Tritchinopoly to Arcot, ſhould attack Elavanaſore in the way: and again that the Engliſh army ſhould proceed againſt it, in the beginning of the laſt year, immediately after it had retreated from Velore. On the other hand, Meer Saheb, knowing himſelf reprobated by the Nabob, and ſeeing nothing to be got by uniting with the French, thought the mutual enmity between the two his beſt protection, and paid no reſpect to either; but increaſed his force, and continued his depredations on the poſſeſſions of both. Beſides driving off the cattle, which he afterwards ſold to the owners, it was eſpecially his cuſtom to ſeize on perſons of ſubſtance, whom he confined until they had paid heavy ranſoms. In the month of September, he, in one excurſion, ſwept away 5000 beeves and 6000 ſheep, indifferently from the country round; and in the beginning of the preſent year again plundered

1757. May. plundered the neighbourhood indiſcriminately. The Nabob then pretended to ſuſpect him of being in league with Maphuze Khan at Madura, and Nazeabulla at Nelore; but as ſoon as it was known, that the government of Pondicherry intended to attack Elavanaſore, he requeſted the preſidency of Madraſs to protect him, rather than ſuffer ſuch valuable diſtricts to fall into the hands of the French.

Mr. D'Auteuil advancing by forced marches appeared before Elavanaſore on the 10th; and, whilſt they were encamping, Meer Saheb ſallied with all his cavalry and moſt of his foot, and had well nigh routed the whole of the French force, when he was ſhot through the body: his troops immediately ceaſed the fight, but eſcorted him with much attention back to the fort. D'Autueil, on this trial, ſent to Gingee for reinforcements and cannon; and, in the mean time, prepared to make a regular attack: on the 16th arrived 250 Europeans, with 1000 Sepoys, and the battering cannon; but on the ſame day Meer Saheb died of his wound; on which his brother, with the families of both, went away in the night, and the garriſon after their example likewiſe abandoned the fort before the morning.

Reports had prevailed in this part of the country, ever ſince the French troops had taken the field, that they intended to fall upon Tritchinopoly, which, by the abſence of the troops with Captain Calliaud, was left with a garriſon very inadequate to its extent; and even Capt. Joſ. Smith, who now commanded in the city, apprehended and warned the preſidency of this danger. But the force which had taken Elavanaſore was unequal to the enterprize; and D'Auteuil moved back from Elavanaſore to Chilambrum, where he arrived on the 1ſt of May. From hence he marched and encamped on the ſkirts of the woods of Warriorepollam, and ſummoned the polygar to pay his tributes on the ſame pretenſions as Maiſſin had demanded them two years before. The polygar as uſual endeavoured to gain time by diſcuſſions, on which the French attacked one of his barriers, but were repulſed with loſs: however he was frightened

frightened by the attack, and agreed to pay 40,000 rupees, but took ſome days to produce the money. 1757. May.

In the mean time, Captain Calliaud, whilſt regulating the affairs of the renter at Tinivelly, acquired intelligence, that the confederates were treating with the Myſoreans at Dindigul for aid againſt the Engliſh and their adherents, the Pulitaver offering to pay down 500,000 rupees, and the Jemautdars of Maphuze Khan to give up the diſtricts of *Sholavanden*, in which are comprized a ſtrong paſs, and the only road, between Madura and Dindigul. Nevertheleſs it was not intended that the country, when conquered, ſhould be given either to the Myſorean or Maphuze Khan: it was to be reſtored to a deſcendant of the ancient kings, who lived in concealment in the country of the greater Moravar: and Maphuze Khan was to have a ſuitable eſtabliſhment in Myſore.

This news encreaſed the neceſſity of attacking Madura as ſoon as poſſible; but the arrangements at Tinivelly were not finiſhed until the 10th of April, on which day, Captain Calliaud began his march from thence, with 180 Europeans, 2,500 Sepoys, ſix field-pieces, and 500 horſe: Mahomed Iſſoof commanded the Sepoys, and Moodilee what horſe were levied by himſelf. Six companies of Sepoys were left for the defence of Tinivelly, and the ſame number in the fort of Palamcotah. On the ſame day, Berkatoolah and Nabey Cawn Catteck ſet off from Nellitangavile, with 500 horſe, leaving Maphuze Khan with the Pulitaver. Skirting along the hills, they halted one evening near the fort of the Polygar Vaniah, of Shevagherry, which ſtood 60 miles s.w. of Madura, and 20 below Chevelpetore. The Polygar, having been attached by Mahomed Iſſoof, ſent out his Colleries, who, in the middle of the night, fell upon this body of cavalry, and with their ſcreams and fireworks diſperſed the whole, and took 40 of their horſes. The fugitives re-aſſembled in the morning, and arrived at Madura on the 17th; from whence Nabey Cawn Catteck immediately went to the greater Moravar, in order to prepare ſupplies of proviſions for the city. On the 20th, the Engliſh army arrived at Secundermally, and lodged themſelves in the pagoda; from whence Mahomed Iſſoof, with a party of Se- *April.*

1757. May. poys, was detached the next day to reduce the fort of Sholavanden. It is ſituated 10 miles north-weſt of Madura, and, although intended to command the paſs, was of little ſtrength; and the garriſon of 200 peons abandoned it as ſoon as Mahomed Iſſoof appeared; but exceſſive rains, which raiſed the river *Vigee*, prevented him from returning to Secundermally, before the 26th. In this interval, Calliaud received letters from the preſidency, adviſing him of their apprehenſions that the French intended to attack Tritchinopoly; with orders to hold himſelf in readineſs to march to its relief on the firſt notice. By this time, he was likewiſe convinced, that the reduction of Madura was an enterprize of much more difficulty than had been repreſented to him, and ſcarcely feaſible without battering cannon, of which he had not brought any from Tritchinopoly; and, excepting the one which Mahomet Iſſoof himſelf had depoſited in Madura, there was not a ſingle piece in the whole country, of which Europeans would make uſe. However, not to loſe any of the precarious time left him to act, he reſolved to attempt the city by ſurprize. Bamboos were provided, as if for ſome other ſervice, and no one was ſuffered to go in or out of the pagoda until the ladders were made. On the night before the 1ſt of May, all the troops, except a few to guard the baggage and artillery, marched out of the pagoda, and at three in the morning arrived at the watercourſe which runs within 300 yards of the weſtern ſide of the walls.

April.

May.

The inward wall of Madura is 22 feet high, including the parapet, which riſes ſix above the rampart: at the diſtance of every 100 yards or leſs (for exact ſymmetry has not been obſerved) are ſquare towers. The fauſſe-bray is 30 feet broad, above which the outward wall riſes only five feet, but deſcending to the bottom of the ditch is 11 on the outſide. Midway, between every two towers of the inward wall, is a ſimilar projection in the outward, with loop-holes which command the ditch, and flank the intermediate part of the wall, in which are none: but the whole parapet of the inward wall has loop-holes, ſo have ſome of its towers, and the reſt embraſures for cannon. The ſpot choſen to be attacked was the firſt tower on the left-hand of the weſtern gate-way, being the only

part where the fauſſe-bray was clear of the thick thorny buſhes, which had not injudiciouſly been ſuffered to over-run it in every other; but the garriſon, truſting to this defence, had entirely neglected the ditch, which, by continual drifts after rain, was almoſt choaked up to the level of the plain. The party allotted to the attack were 100 Europeans, and 200 Sepoys; the reſt of the troops remained in the watercourſe, ready to ſupport the event. Calliaud led the party himſelf, to whom the method of attack was carefully explained, and ſtrict ſilence enjoined. The foremoſt men carried the ſix ſhorter ladders intended for the outward wall; the next, the ſix longer, for the inward; as ſoon as twenty of the party had got into the fauſſe-bray, it was intended that they ſhould immediately take over the longer ladders, which they were to plant, as received, againſt the tower, but not a man was to mount, until all the ſix ladders were fixed, and then no more than three at a time on each ladder. 1757. May.

The firſt ladders were planted, and Calliaud, with the firſt 20 men, had got into the fauſſe-bray, had taken over one of the longer ladders, and had planted it againſt the tower, when their hopes were interrupted by one of thoſe accidents which from their triviality eſcape the moſt attentive precaution. A dog, accuſtomed to get his meals at the meſſes of ſome of the ſoldiers, had accompanied them all the way from Secundermally into the ditch, and, probably from anxiety, at not being able to follow his maſters into the fauſſe-bray, began to bark; which was ſoon anſwered by the barking of another dog on the rampart, and the yelps of both awakened the neareſt centinel, who, crying out "The enemy," raiſed the guard at the gate-way, which repaired immediately to the tower. The ſoldiers in the fauſſe-bray, finding the alarm taken, inſtead of continuing to get over the reſt of the ladders, endeavoured to mount on that already planted, but crowded on it ſo many together, that it cruſhed under them. This communicated the confuſion to thoſe in the ditch, and no one any longer did what he ought. In the mean time, the garriſon increaſing on the rampart hung out blue lights of ſulphur, and diſcovering the whole party

1757. May. began to ſhower on them arrows, ſtones, lances, and the ſhot of fire-arms. On which Calliaud ordered the retreat, which was effected with little loſs, only one man being killed, and another wounded; both were Sepoys, ſtanding on the glacis.

The troops, after taking ſome refreſhment, marched from the watercourſe, and proceeding along the ſouthern face of the town took poſt in a ruined village, about 600 yards from the ſouth-eaſt part of the walls, which in this quarter were of a much ſlighter conſtruction than any where elſe. The diviſion with the artillery and baggage from Secundermally joined in the evening. On the 3d in the morning, a battery conſiſting of three ſix-pounders began to fire on the walls, and continued the two ſucceeding days, without making any impreſſion; on which Calliaud ſent away a company of Sepoys, with a ſufficient number of bullocks, to bring two eighteen-pounders from Tritchinopoly.

The preſidency of Madraſs, whilſt anxious concerning the ſucceſs of the expeditions againſt Madura and Nelore, had received advices, on the 28th of April, from Bengal, by the Revenge, Protector, and Marlborough, belonging to the company, with the welcome news of the capture of Chandernagore, but without a ſingle platoon of the troops which had been ſent in the armament; and, the ſeaſon being now changed, none were to be expected before September. Intelligence of this diſappointment was ſoon conveyed to Pondicherry; and it now appeared, that the French had waited to determine the operations of their own troops by the force which might be ſent back from Bengal to Madraſs. They immediately bared all their garriſons, and, retaining none but invalids in Pondicherry itſelf, enrolled the European inhabitants to man the walls: all theſe parties haſtened to join D'Autueil's camp before Arielore, who, ſending forward a detachment of 100 Europeans and 500 Sepoys to Seringham, followed himſelf with the main body on the 12th of May: his whole force conſiſted of 1000 Europeans, battalion and artillery, 150 Huſſars, 3000 Sepoys, 10 field-pieces, with ſeveral howitzes and cohorns.

The two eighteen-pounders intended for Madura were ſent off from Tritchinopoly early in the morning of the 12th, under the eſcort of two companies of Sepoys; but had not proceeded three miles, before a ſtrong party from Seringham croſſed the Caveri, and marched to circumvent them; which being perceived from the town, Captain Joſeph Smith re-called the guns, and marched out with a conſiderable part of the garriſon to protect them, on which the enemy returned to the iſland. On the 14th the van of their main body, with D'Autueil, arrived, and with the garriſon of Seringham encamped at the Pagodas of Wariore. It was ſome time that captain Smith had expected this viſit, and he had made all the preparations which the means in his power, admitted to receive it: he had filled the ditch round the town with water by the uſual ſluices from the Caveri, nevertheleſs ſeveral rocky parts remained fordable: the parapets both of the outward and inward walls, where-ever decayed, had been repaired: Tondiman and the king of Tanjore, on his application, had ſent, the one 300 Colleries, the other 300 matchlockmen: the Peons entertained by the Nabob's governor, were four hundred: but all theſe men, excepting the Colleries, were only fit for night-watches, nor for that, without being watched themſelves: the Company's were the only troops which could be relied on; they were 150 Europeans rank and file, of which 50 had lately been ſent from Fort St. David, 15 artillery men, and 700 Sepoys; but of the whole few had ſeen much ſervice, for the beſt had been taken away by captain Calliaud. This force would ſcarcely in any time of outward danger have been ſufficient to guard the walls, of which the circuit was 6400 yards; much leſs with the additional ward of 500 French priſoners, who were confined within the town, and from whom more danger was apprehended than from the enemy without: for it was known, and it could not be prevented, that they maintained a correſpondence with their countrymen at Seringham; and indeed the hopes of their breaking looſe during the attack, had been the principal inducement to the preſent attempt againſt the city. More troops were continually

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1757. May. tinually coming up to Wariore; and on the 15th, the day after the firſt arrived, the enemy began to throw ſhells into the town: during the night ſeveral parties at different times and places advanced to the ditch, not with any intention of ſcaling the walls, but only to keep the garriſon from reſt by repeated alarms. Theſe alerts and the bombardment were continued during the four ſucceeding days and nights; and on the 20th, M. D'Autueil, thinking the garriſon ſufficiently harraſſed, ſummoned Captain Smith in the name of the king of France, to ſurrender the town, and ſpare the effuſion of blood, warning him that he ſhould reſent in the ſevereſt manner any ill uſage which might have been inflicted on the French priſoners. Captain Smith anſwered, that he ſhould maintain the town for the king of England; and that the priſoners had always been treated with more lenity than their practices deſerved. Some hours after, ſpies brought intelligence, that the enemy intended to make a general aſſault in the approaching night, and at one in the morning the greateſt part of their force advanced towards the weſt face of the town; but a few diſcharges of cannon made them retreat, and the continual vigilance of the rounds, witneſſed by their lights and a variety of military muſick, deterred them from any farther attempt.

By this time ſeveral of the neighbouring Polygars had joined the army before Madura, and were of ſervice in ſupplying the camp with proviſion, as well as by cutting off ſuch as were going to the town, and Captain Calliaud had entered into a negotiation with ſome of the Jemautdars, to deliver up the city, or to aſſiſt in ſurprizing it. Colonel Smith, on the firſt appearance of the enemy's troops on the other ſide of the Coleroon, had diſpatched expreſs meſſengers to him, with the intelligence, which he received on the 11th at three in the afternoon. At ſix, he began his march, with 120 Europeans and 1200 Sepoys, leaving the reſt under the command of Lieutenant Rumbold and Mahomed Iſſoof, whom he empowered to conclude with the Jemautdars.

The troops marched without tents, baggage, or artillery; a few bullocks carried the ſpare ammunition, and ſervants belonging to the commiſſary

miſſary were ſent forward to provide the meal at the different places of halt. On the 25th at day-break they arrived and halted at the vilage of Eliapore, nineteen miles from Tritchinopoly. On the road Calliaud had received advices from Captain Smith, that D'Autueil, apprized of his approach, had quitted his firſt ſtation at the Pagodas of Wariore, and had diſpoſed his troops in a line of communication which extended from the Faquieres tope, round the Five rocks, the Golden, and the Sugar-loaf, to the French rock; by which all acceſs on the ſouthern aſpect of the city was precluded. It had alſo been diſcovered, that ſeveral ſpies belonging to D'Autueil had mingled with and accompanied the Engliſh troops, on which Calliaud ordered them to be narrowly obſerved by his own, but without appearance of ſuſpicion, intending to make them the inſtruments of deceiving thoſe by whom they were employed. The troops having taken ſufficient reſt, and a full meal, marched from Eliapore at two in the afternoon, and at ſix arrived at Aour, a village in Tondiman's Woods, about 12 miles from Tritchinopoly, where they ſtopped half an hour. Calliaud then bent his march, as if he intended to come out upon the plain, between the Five rocks and the Sugar-loaf, oppoſite to the middle of the enemy's line, and advanced in this direction ſix miles. It was now 8 o'clock, and quite dark, when the French ſpies, fully perſuaded of the intelligence they were carrying, went off to inform D'Autueil where they ſuppoſed the Engliſh troops intended to force their way. Half an hour after their departure, none of them appearing again, Calliaud entirely changed his rout, ſtriking to the eaſt along the ſkirts of Tondiman's Woods, until he came oppoſite to Elimiſerum. The ground, from the woods to this place on the ſouth, beyond it to the Caveri on the north, to the weſt of it as far as the French rock, and a greater ſpace to the eaſt, is a plain moſtly laid out in rice fields, which, throughout India, are divided into areas of no great extent; each encloſed by a ſeparate bank, and kept overflowed with water until a fortnight before the harveſt is cut down, until which time they remain, as theſe now were, a heavy ſwamp of mud. The French, ſuppoſing all this part of the country impaſſable to a body of troops, had not thought it.

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1757. May. it neceſſary to ſtation a watch either at Elimiſerum, or on the bank of the Caveri; and the information which Calliaud had obtained of this neglect ſuggeſted the advantage he was now taking of it. The troops entered the rice-fields at 10 o'clock, the Europeans marching firſt; the Sepoys were obſerved by the Engliſh ſerjeants of their companies, and their own Subadars or captains were men of duty: but no diſcipline could be exerted, where the ſucceſs intirely depended on ſilence and darkneſs; and the ſpirit of the ſoldier himſelf determined, whether he ſhould give out, or perſevere in gaining his toilſome way, after ſo much fatigue already endured. At 2 in the morning two companies of Sepoys were ſent off, with orders to puſh for the town between the French and Sugar-loaf rocks; leſt the enemy ſhould be led to ſuſpicions of the real march, if no alarm were given to any part of their line: but, contrary to expectation, theſe Sepoys paſſed cloſe under the French rock without being challenged by a ſingle centinel; for all the troops ſtationed hereabouts had been drawn to the main body, guarding the ground to the ſouth, indicated by their ſpies. At 4 in the morning, the two companies arrived at the Madura, or ſouthern gate of the town, where they were immediately recognized and admitted. It was near the dawn of day before the main body with Calliaud reached *Chuckleyapollam* on the bank of the Caveri, having employed near ſeven hours in wading through the rice-fields, although the diſtance was only ſeven miles. Two more ſtill remained; but the ſight of the city inſpired the whole line with new alacrity; and their commander, who from the multiplicity of his attentions had endured more fatigue than any of them, now marched at their head, ſupported by two grenadiers. Captain Smith, apprized, drew out half his garriſon, with two field-pieces, ready in caſe of need to protect them. Every man was received with open arms; the meal and every refreſhment was ready for the welcome and exhauſted gueſts; and with the riſing ſun, a diſcharge of twenty-one pieces of cannon announced their exultation, with the news, to the French troops on the plain. On a review it was found, that 300 of the Sepoys had dropped behind, but

but of the Engliſh, only two or three had failed. Mr. D'autueil could ſcarcely credit what it was intended he ſhould underſtand by the report of the cannon; but was ſoon convinced by ſome priſoners picked up by his huſſars. The very ſame evening he recroſſed the Caveri with his whole army, into the Iſland of Seringham, and the next day paſſing the Coleroon, proceeded towards Pondicherry. 1757. May.

Intelligence of the French army marching from Arielore to Tritchinopoly, was brought to Madraſs on the 15th of May, juſt after the preſidency had heard of the repulſe of their own troops in the aſſaults of Nelore and Madura. Howſoever averſe the preſidency had hitherto been to encounter the French troops, until they knew what reinforcements they might expect from Bengal and Europe; the importance of Tritchinopoly, and conviction of the danger to which it was expoſed, now ſuperſeded this reluctance: and they reſolved to enter the French territories, as the moſt probable means of drawing their army back; or even to follow it to Tritchinopoly; but as the troops from Nelore were not yet arrived, thoſe in Madraſs, waiting for them, did not take the field until the 26th of May, when 300 men, being the whole of Adlercron's regiment, and 30 of the king's artillery, four field-pieces, and 500 Sepoys, marched under the command of Colonel Adlercron himſelf: but by various delays ariſing from attention to the modes of warfare in Europe, they did not reach Chinglapet until the 31ſt, although the diſtance was only 30 miles: Captain Polier joined them here from the garriſon, with his own company of 100 Swiſs, and 300 Sepoys: but two days after came the welcome news that Tritchinopoly was relieved.

Whilſt the enemy was approaching, Enſign Banatyne, who commanded in Carangoly, marched from thence with 300 Sepoys, and took the fort of Outramalore by eſcalade, in which he left 40 of his Sepoys; but two days after, the fugitive garriſon, which likewiſe conſiſted only of Sepoys, returned, with 500 more, ſent by the Kellidar of Vandiwaſh; on whoſe appearance, the Engliſh Sepoys evacuated the fort. This declaration in favour of the French de-

1757. June. termined the preſidency of Madraſs, as the army was abroad, to employ it in the attack of Vandiwaſh. But, waiting for the troops from Nelore, and the Nabob's from Arcot, Col. Adlercron ſtill advanced ſlowly. On his approach, the garriſon in Outramalore retreated to Vandiwaſh, where the army arrived on the 5th of June at night; and early the next morning attacked the Pettah, which they carried, after a ſlight reſiſtance from 300 Sepoys, whom they purſued towards the fort, until obliged to retreat by the fire from the walls; nor could they remain in the pettah itſelf, becauſe the principal ſtreets led ſtreight to the fort, and were inſiladed by one or other of the towers. However, the ſucceſs coſt no lives; although 10 Europeans were wounded. By this time, the French troops, as much alarmed by the motions of the Engliſh, as the Engliſh had lately been by theirs, were returning faſt from Tritchinopoly; ſome were already arrived at Pondicherry, others had halted at Trivadi, others were advanced to Gingee; all preparing to march to the relief of Vandiwaſh: on the other hand, neither the battering cannon, nor any of the reinforcements, had joined the Engliſh camp; and there was no probability of making any impreſſion on the fort before ſome of the French troops would arrive to its ſuccour; on which Col. Adlercron reſolved to quit the enterprize, but ſet fire to the pettah before he retired; and on the 11th, the army arrived at Outramalore.

By this time the preſidency, ſtreightened in their treaſury, were tired of the expence of a campaign which had produced ſo little effect; and their preſent propenſity to caution, as well as parſimony, was increaſed by unexpected intelligence, that the French had ſeized the company's factories at Madapollam, Bandermalanka, and Ingeram, which are ſituated near the ſea on different branches of the river Godaveri, in the province of Rajahmundrum. To theſe loſſes were added apprehenſions ariſing from various reports, that Mr. Buſſy intended to attack the more important factoty of Vizagapatam.

In this cloudy hour the preſidency injudiciouſly ordered Adlercron to return immediately with the army to Madraſs, although a part of the French troops were arrived and encamped under the

walls of Vandiwaſh. They were commanded by Saubinet, an officer of enterprize, who no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh army retreating from Outramalore, than he advanced and took poſſeſſion of this place; and, as ſoon as he heard that they had repaſſed Chinglapett in their way to Madraſs, detached early in the morning of the 15th, 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, with two field-pieces, to retaliate on Conjeveram the fire which they had ſet to Vandiwaſh. Conjeveram is the largeſt open town in the Carnatic, and the moſt populous; beſides the reſort it attracts by the great quantities of grain produced in the vaſt plain that ſurrounds it, it is ſtill more frequented from the reputation of its pagoda, and of the college of Bramins, who poſſeſs it, and are acknowledged the ſupreme council of the Indian religion in Coromandel: both the Engliſh and French had, during the late wars, kept troops in the pagoda; but its ſpace and proper attentions had ſtill preſerved the prieſts and the holy places from contamination or pollution. There were at this time in the pagoda two companies of Sepoys, under the command of Serjeant Lambertſon. The French troops arrived at noon, and, contrary to their expectation, were aſſailed by the fire of muſketry, concealed on each ſide of the ſtreet, which obliged them to beat up the houſes as the line advanced; and the Engliſh Sepoys, who knew their ground, continually eſcaped from one ſhelter to another, renewing their fire, until they retreated into the pagoda. The enemy, exaſperated, then advanced againſt the gate-way, where the ſerjeant was ready to receive them again, placing his Sepoys, ſome on ſcaffolding along the walls, and others amongſt the open maſonry of the ſtories which compoſe the vaſt tower over the gate-way. The two field-pieces were of little ſervice to diſlodge them from ſuch defences, and the ſerjeant had obſtructed the porch with large trees, laid with their branches outwards. On this reſiſtance, Saubiner thought it prudent not to perſiſt, for his time was limited, and eight of his Europeans were killed, more wounded, and of the Sepoys in proportion. They therefore marched to a diſtant quarter of the town, from whence detachments were ſent to collect whatſoever plunder could be conveniently carried away. In the evening

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1757. June. they ſet fire to the town: at midnight they marched away, and the next day arrived at Outramalore.

The terror ſpread by this incurſion was of much more detriment than the miſchief done at Conjeveram; for all the inhabitants of the open and fertile country along the Paliar, abandoned their labours and occupations, and the renters as uſual amplified the loſſes they were likely to ſuſtain in the collection of the revenues. The preſidency of Madraſs, ſenſible and vexed at their error, immediately ordered the army to march back, and re-croſs the Paliar. Col. Lawrence, although he had reſolved from the time he was ſuperſeded by Colonel Adlercron, never to act under his command, on this occaſion offered to join the camp as a volunteer; and Adlercorn accepted the propoſal with good will. The army marched from the Mount on the 19th. The French, on their approach, retired from Outramalore to Vandiwaſh, and intrenched ſtrongly within half a mile of the eaſtern ſide of the fort, ſummoning reinforcements from all their garriſons in the rear. The Engliſh, likewiſe waiting for detachments and the Nabob's cavalry from Arcot, did not advance to Outramalore until the 29th, when an uncommon ſickneſs broke out in the camp; men being ſuddenly ſeized, and dying in 12 July. hours, and as many died as recovered. The mortality continued four days, but the camp having moved on the fifth five miles beyond Outramalore, fewer men fell down the next, and in two days more the ſickneſs intirely ceaſed. On the 11th of July they encamped within ſight of the enemy, whoſe huſſars hovered round the line, but came not near enough to receive any harm. By this time the ſtrength of the two armies, although different, was nearly equal: the French had 800 Europeans, of which 100 were huſſars, and 1500 Sepoys; the Engliſh 700 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, but no horſe, excepting a few troopers, to ſerve as ſcouts. On the 16th, 500 of the Nabob's horſe arrived from Arcot; and the next morning 300 of them, with five companies of Sepoys, advanced towards the enemy's camp, followed by the picquet of 100 Europeans, with a field-piece, and at the ſame time the whole line drew out, ready to meet a general action, if the enemy would give the opportunity; but

but they recalled their advanced poſts into their intrenchments, and only ſent out their huſſars, who, as before, ventured nothing. This trial convinced Col. Lawrence that nothing but the certainty of advantage could bring them to action; and enough being done to convince the country that the former retreat had not been in conſequence of fear, he thought it beſt to put an end to the expence of the campaign. The army marched away on the 26th, and the enemy made no motion to harraſs them. On the 28th, they arrived at Conjeveram, where 500 Europeans, with 1500 Sepoys, remained in cantonments, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Forde: the reſt returned to the garriſons and ſtations from whence they had been drawn. Thus ended this campaign, in which the whole force that Madraſs and Pondicherry could bring into the field, remained 40 days within a few hours march of each other, and ſeparated, without a man wounded on either ſide. Nevertheleſs, both were right, according to their different views and circumſtances, in refraining from action. 1757. July.

The garriſon of Madura was ſo much elated by the departure of Captain Calliaud with the beſt of the troops, and by the cauſe in the danger of Tritchinopoly, that the Jemautdars, who had made propoſals to him, would not continue any communication with Lieutenant Rumbold and Mahomed Hſoof; who ordered up ſix of the 12 companies of Sepoys from Tinivelly and Palamacotah, and moved the camp from the S. E. to the N. E. of the town on the other ſide of the river Vigee, in order to cut off the communication of the garriſon with the river, from which they drew their water, as all in the tanks of the town and plain was putrid. *May.*

The four ſides of Madura front nearly to the four cardinal points. The river paſſing from the N. W. waſhes the walls at the N. E. angle; the bed, unleſs immediately after heavy rains, lies in dry flats of ſand, on ſome of which are buildings; the channels between are ſhallow. The Engliſh camp extended on the northern ſide of the river, oppoſite the angle, and within point blank of part of the walls on the eaſt and north ſides, for nothing was feared from the decayed artillery of the town.

1757. July. The gate-way of the north ſide, from whence the garriſon got their water, was near the N. W. angle, and about 80 yards from the river; on the ſide of which, oppoſite to the gate, they threw up a retrenchment, in which they kept a guard to protect the water-carriers. Lieutenant Rumbold, with the Europeans, paſſed the river under cover of a field piece, and having diſlodged the guard from the poſt on the other ſide, kept poſſeſſion, ſtrengthened it with better retrenchments, and ſtationed two companies of Sepoys to maintain it. This immediately obliged the enemy to open another gate, it was that to the ſouth, and to get their water from the tanks within and without the town, which ſoon threw many of them into fluxes.

Rumbold and Mahomed Iſſoof remained three or four days without doing any thing more, hoping to put the enemy off their guard, and then, taking a night when the wind blew very ſtrong, advanced with a large party of Sepoys, carrying bundles of ſtraw mixed with more effectual combuſtibles, which they piled and ſet fire to againſt the outward doors of the gateway; which were ſoon conſumed, and the party ſuffered very little, being concealed by the thickneſs of the ſmoke, and ſtill more protected by the indifference of the garriſon, who knew their own ſecurity; for, when advanced with a petard through the windings of the gateway to the ſecond door, which opened immediately into the city, the troops, to their great ſurprize, found the front of it bricked up with a ſtrong wall; upon which they retired without delay. By this time, the Sepoys from Tinivelly were advancing; and Captain Calliaud, being convinced that the French army were not likely to return again to Tritchinopoly, had detached a platoon of 30 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, and an 18 pounder, which were likewiſe on the road to Madura. The garriſon hearing of the approach of theſe reinforcements, reſolved to make a vigorous effort before their arrival. Intelligence was received of their intention, and to be prepared againſt it, the ground on each ſide of the camp was ſluiced by cutting the mound of a large tank at ſome diſtance in the rear; and Mahomed Iſſoof undertook to defend the poſt

poſt on the other ſide of the river with the uſual guard of two companies of Sepoys, and the addition of a field-piece. On the 9th of the month the enemy made the ſally at noon day. They were 300 Sepoys, 200 cavalry diſmounted, and 200 more on their horſes. The riders came round from the weſt, and croſſing the river, kept galloping on this ſide the camp, but without venturing to paſs the ſwamp; but the foot iſſuing from the north gate, which they had unbricked, advanced ſtreight forward to the watering poſt. A ſhot had ſcarcely been fired, before the two companies of Sepoys, either from panic or ſpite, for Mahomed Iſſoof was a ſevere commander, abandoned him, and diſperſed, all but ten men, with whom he retreated to a choultry, on an iſland in the river, to which they were followed by part of the enemy, whilſt the reſt ſeized the gun. Lieutenant Rumbold on the danger advanced with the company of Coffres, and one of Sepoys, leaving the four other companies, and the field-pieces for the defence of the camp. He made his way good to the Choultry, where he found the ſmall party of defenders reduced to their laſt cartridge, having killed more than their own number of the enemy, who retreated as ſoon as the reinforcement came up. On the 11th of June, arrived the detachment from Tritchinopoly; when Rumbold mounted the eighteen pounder they had brought, on the recovered poſt. It fired three days, until moſt of its ammunition was ſpent, but without being able to make a practical breach; and in the mean time the enemy threw up a retrenchment with a deep ditch before the breach, and ſtrengthened the ditch with paliſades; ſo that nothing could be done by aſſault without more force. The preſidency had foreſeen this; and notwithſtanding their other alarms, ſtill continued intent on the reduction of Madura, as the moſt dangerous advantage of which the French were likely to get poſſeſſion, if not immediately recovered; of which ſenſe nothing could be a greater proof than their inſufficient efforts; for the attempt required a complete army. They therefore left it to the diſcretion of Calliaud, to proceed again to the attack, with ſuch a force as ſhould not leave Tritchinopoly expoſed again to too much riſque. Some days paſſed in waiting the return

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1757. July. return of a detachment of 50 Europeans, which had come from, and had been lately ſent back to Fort St. David; and as ſoon as they returned, he took the field with 90 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, an eighteen-pounder, and 200 horſe ſupplied by the king of Tanjore: more than half the Europeans were French and Dutch deſerters, choſen, that none but the Engliſh ſoldiers might be left to guard the French priſoners in the city. The renter Moodilee, naturally timorous, and awed by the imperious temper of Mahomed Iſſoof, had quitted the camp, and followed Calliaud when he marched to the relief of Tritchinopoly; from whence he now again returned with him to Madura. The detachment ſet out on the 25th of June, and arrived on the 3d of July. The Sepoys called from Tinivelly had joined a few days before; but Mr. Rumbold had nevertheleſs been obliged to reduce his operations to preventing the garriſon from getting water from the river, and proviſions from the country.

Calliaud, ſeeing the dexterity with which the enemy had counteracted the battery of Rumbold, reſolved to prevent them from oppoſing the ſame obſtacles to that which he intended to erect, by keeping them in ignorance of the part he ſhould attack, until the firſt ſhot was fired. The gabions, faſcines, and platforms, were prepared in the camp; and as ſoon as all were ready, the troops allotted marched on the 9th at night to the watercourſe which runs to the weſt of the city, and raiſed the battery againſt the curtain between the gateway and the tower which had been attempted by eſcalade of the 1ſt of May. It mounted two eighteen-pounders, with four field-pieces, was finiſhed before the morning, and at daybreak began to fire. The parapet of the fauſſe-bray was ſoon beaten down, and the inward wall, although ſtrong, was by noon ſhaken ſo much, that the parapet of this likewiſe fell entirely, and the wall itſelf was ſufficiently ſhattered, to permit a man to clamber to the top: but, in this ſhort time, the garriſon had ſtaked the rampart behind with the trunks of Palmeira trees ſet on end: a few ſhot knocked down ſome, nor could any of them have been firmly fixed, and to leave the enemy no more time to prepare farther defences, Calliaud

liaud reſolved to ſtorm immediately. Of the Europeans, only the artillery-men were left at the battery: all the battalion-men, who were 120, marched, followed by the company of Coffrees, and they by 400 Sepoys. Calliaud led the Europeans, and Mahomed Iſſooff the Sepoys. The garriſon had diſciplined 300 of their matchlock-men as Sepoys; who, although much inferior to theſe troops, were improved far beyond their former ſtate; theſe were poſted on the weſtern gate-way, which, projecting beyond the fauſſe-bray into the ditch, flanked the tower attacked; and a multitude were crouded on the ramparts behind and on each ſide of the breach. The troops, although galled, advanced reſolutely through the ditch and fauſſe-bray, and four of the moſt active ſcrambled up the breach to the rampart, but were immediately tumbled down dead, or mortally wounded. This repreſſed the ardour of thoſe who were following: an officer threw out imprudent words, and the infirmity viſibly caught the whole line, notwithſtanding the exhortations and activity of Calliaud, who was in the fauſſe-bray directing the aſſault. Whoſoever mounted afterwards came down without getting to the top, pretending the impoſſibility, although the danger was as great in the fauſſe-bray below; for, beſides the ſhower of other annoyances, the enemy had prepared bags and pipkins filled with meer powder, to which they ſet fire as they toſſed them down on the heads of the aſſailants, and the ſcorch of the exploſion was inevitable and intolerable. Nevertheleſs, Calliaud continued the aſſault half an hour; when finding that no command was any longer obeyed, and that much loſs had been ſuſtained, he ordered the retreat. Four of the braveſt ſerjeants were killed, and as many wounded, and 20 other Europeans were either killed or deſperately wounded; of the Coffrees 10; of the Sepoys 100 were diſabled, but few of this body were killed, and fewer died afterwards of their wounds. 1757. July.

The preſidency received intelligence of this repulſe on the 25th, and on the ſame day two Peons, eſcaped from Vizagapatam, brought news, that Mr. Buſſy had taken that ſettlement, in which were 150 European ſoldiers. Theſe evils were aggravated by the circum-

1757. July. ſtances of the times: for there is no country in which the ſlighteſt ſucceſſes and miſchances of war weigh ſo much in the opinions both of friends and enemies, as in Indoſtan, and a large body of Morratoes had encamped a few days before on the weſtern frontiers of the Carnatic, threatening the Nabob to enter and ravage the province, if their demands were not complied with.

The *Nana* Balagerow, after his return from Sanore, in the laſt year, remained at Poni, in appearance attentive only to the affairs of Delhi, and the northern countries of Indoſtan, to which he detached a very large force in October; but when he ſaw Salabadjing and Mr. Buſſy proceeding with their reſpective armies, the one to Aurengabad, the other to the ceded provinces, he took the field himſelf with 60,000 horſe, and proceeded to the Southward, paſſed the Kriſtna, and having purified his army in the ſtreams of the Beamraw, a ſacred river in Viziapore, they ſet off from hence in *February.* the middle of February, and marched rapidly towards Myſore, carrying terror and deſtruction wherever they came. Moſt of the forts on the way ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons, and ſuch as held out, were inveſted, or at leaſt watched by detachments, whilſt the main body purſued its courſe without interruption to the capital *Seringapatam.* It was ſome apprehenſions of this invaſion, which had recalled the General, Hyderally, from Dindigul in the beginning of the year; who nevertheleſs was not ſufficiently prepared to reſiſt the invaſion and the Delaway or Regent, being much frightened, they negociated, and agreed to pay Balagerow two millions of rupees. *April.* The terms were concluded in the middle of April, and Balagerow, on his return to the northern diviſion of Myſore, continued to reduce the forts he had left in his rear; although many of them were, at this time, in the dependance of this kingdom. The principal of theſe, and indeed the ſtrongeſt in the whole country, is Serah, which is likewiſe called Sirpi. It is ſituated on a great mountain, 120 miles north of Seringapatam; the Governor reſiſted in the beginning, but the bribes and batteries of the Morratoe induced him in three weeks to ſurrender. The rainy ſeaſon was now approaching, when the Kriſtna overflows, and becomes impaſſable; and

and it was a maxim with Balagerow, never to remain to the ſouth- 1757.
ward, with that obſtacle between himſelf and his capital. He July.
accordingly marched away from Sirpi, with the greateſt part of
his army, 45,000 men, but left 15,000 horſe, as many foot, and
a large train of artillery, under the command of a general named *May.*
Balaventrow, to execute the other purpoſes of the campaign, who,
after receiving the ſubmiſſions and fines of a variety of petty Poly-
gars under the ſubjection of Sirpi, proceeded 40 miles to the S.S.E.
and encamped between two forts called the greater and leſſer
Balabarum, of which the greater refuſed to make any ſubmiſſion,
but the kellidar of the other paid 50,000 rupees. From hence
they proceeded 20 miles farther eaſt, and, after a ſiege of 10 days,
took Ouſcotah. This fort, although far diſtant from the territory
of Cudapah, belonged to the Nabob of that province. Proceed-
ing, they ſummoned the fort of Colar, ſituated 20 miles beyond
Ouſcotah, and being refuſed, left it in their rear, and ſat down
before Mulliavaukel, twenty miles farther on. This fort ſtands on
the higheſt rock of a large mountain, and is impregnable by
open force. Balaventrow therefore tried money, which in four
days gained the place. They were now within 30 miles of the
great range of mountains which bound the Carnatic to the Weſt;
and on the 27th of June encamped before the fort of Cudapanatam, *June.*
ſixty miles N. by W. from the city of Arcot, and commanding the
entrance of one of the paſſes into the Carnatic. Balaventrow,
whilſt preparing to attack the fort of Cudanapatam, ſent forward
letters from Balajerow, with his own, to the Nabob, and the preſi-
dency. During the expedition to Seringapatam, Balajerow had like-
wiſe written ſeveral to the preſidency, in which he complained, that
the government of Bombay had given him no ſhare of the plun-
der of Gheria; and held out his intentions of viſiting the Carnatic on
his return from Myſore, in order to ſettle, as he ſaid, the affairs
of the province; but theſe were deemed expreſſions merely deſigned
to intimidate, inſomuch that the preſidency, in anſwer, invited him
to come and aſſiſt them in expelling the French, as the only
means of reſtoring tranquillity to the country. They were there-
fore not a little ſurprized to find in the letters now received from

1757. July. Balajerow and his agent, to themſelves, and in ſtronger terms to the Nabob, a peremptory demand of the *Chout* or tribute due to the king of the Morratoes from the Nabobſhip of Arcot, which Balajerow aſſerted had been ſettled by Nizamalmuluck at ſix hundred thouſand rupees a year, four for the Carnatic, and two for Tritchinopoly and the ſouthern countries; but that he had received nothing for ſix years, that is, ſince the death of the Nabob Anwarodean Khan: the ſum he required was four millions of rupees.

The city of Arcot was ſtruck with conſternation by the arrival of the Morratoes at Cudanapatam, and the Nabob himſelf apprehended the incurſion of ſome of their parties even into the town, on which the preſidency invited and adviſed him to ſend the women and children of his family to Madraſs; but his mother, the widow of Anaverdi, having ſome prejudice againſt the air of the ſea coaſt, choſe to remain at Arcot; the reſt arrived on the 10th of July, paſſing without danger, as the Engliſh army were then before Vandiwaſh. In the mean time a correſpondence by letters and agents was carrying on between the Nabob and Balaventrow. Cudapanatam, after a breach, ſurrendered on the 15th of July; when a ſtrong detachment of Morratoes immediately came through the paſs and inveſted Ambore, from which they levied a contribution, and their parties ſcowered the valley of Vaniambaddy, quite up to the gates of Velore: but Balaventrow himſelf, with the main body, remained at Cudapatnam, and ſent an officer of diſtinction and great prudence named Armetrow, to negotiate with the Nabob: he arrived at Arcot on the 20th: he demanded 400,000 rupees as arrears from the Nabobſhip in general, with the reſerve of collecting from the forts and Polygars of the Carnatic in proportion. After much diſcuſſion, he conſented to take 200,000 in ready money from the Nabob, and his reſcripts on the forts and Polygars for 250,000 more. Theſe terms, conſidering all circumſtances, were moderate; and the Nabob thinking that the preſidency would be as well ſatisfied with them as himſelf, requeſted they would furniſh the money out of the rents he had aſſigned to the Company for the expences of the war. But the preſidency wiſhed to annul a claim, which if admitted under

their

their ſanction, might never be relinquiſhed. They had, however, no alternative but to pay or fight; and no contemptible means of reſiſtance were tendered to them at this very time. The Morratoe Morarirow, in conſequence of his ſubmiſſions to Balajerow in the preceding year at Sanore, had joined and accompanied him with 6000 horſe in the expedition to Seringapatam. They parted after the reduction of Sirpi, and Morarirow returned to his own country without having got any thing by the campaign, not even the pay of his troops, which Balajerow regarded as military vaſſals to the Morratoe ſovereignty. The Nabob of Cudapah had been ſummoned to pay the chout, and had refuſed; on which Balaventrow had taken Ouſcotah, and the Nabob armed. The neighbouring Nabobs of Sanore, Canoul, and Condanore, all, as well as Cudapah, Pitans, took the alarm, and Morarirow, whoſe territory is contiguous to theirs, pretending to fear as much as they, propoſed that all together ſhould make an alliance with the Engliſh, the Nabob of Arcot, and the Myſoreans, not only to oppoſe Balaventrow at preſent, but to prevent the invaſions of Balajerow to the ſouth of the Kriſtna in future. All conſented, and Morarirow, taking the lead, made the propoſal to the Nabob and the preſidency in the moſt explicit terms; Cudapah did ſo likewiſe; and both profered to march immediately and give battle to Balaventrow at Cudapanatam, if the Engliſh troops would join them there. The preſidency could ſpare no troops, and was as much afraid of them, as of the Morratoes, entering the province; and in this dilemma reſolved, if poſſible, to procraſtinate with Armetrow until the arrival of ſupplies, or intelligence from Europe, ſhould give ſome certainty to their conduct; and invited him to come to Madraſs, who, on the offer of the Nabob to accompany him, conſented: they arrived on the 8th of Auguſt, and the next day conferred with the governor, who repreſented the merit of the Engliſh nation in preſerving the Carnatic from the dominion of the French, from whom the Morratoes would never have received any tribute, ſince they had paid none for the northern provinces; in the reduction of which he profered to join Balaventrow with a body of Engliſh troops. But both theſe arguments admitted the claim; and Armetrow perceiving the evaſion,

1757. July. Auguſt.

1757. August. evaſion, demanded a poſitive anſwer. The next day arrived a veſſel from Bombay, diſpatched with letters from England, which had been ſent over the deſart of Arabia, and were dated the 5th of January; they gave intelligence, that four ſhips of the line, with a frigate, under the command of Admiral Stevens, were ſailed for India. This news produced no change in the temper of Armetrow, whom the utmoſt entreaties of the Nabob could hardly prevail on not to depart that evening. A conſultation was held in the morning, when it was finally deemed expedient to pay the money; but on condition that 3000 horſe ſhould immediately join the Engliſh troops at Conjeveram, and proceed with them to attack the French army, which ſtill remained at Vandiwaſh. A ſecond conference paſſed, in which Armetrow was as before inflexible, aſſerted the chout as a right, would receive nothing with any condition; when the money was paid, he was ready to treat for the loan of a body of horſe. Various meſſages and explanations, however, detained him until the 14th, when in the middle of the night he ordered his retinue, 300 Morratoes, to be in readineſs to march in the morning: on which the preſidency reſolved to pay the money without reſerve; and he ſtaid two days more to receive it, part in coin, and part in bills on the ſhroffs. During the embaſſy, Balaventrow went with 3000 horſe from his camp at Cudapanatam to the pagoda of Tripetti, which ſtands 120 miles N. E. of that place; they paſſed through the ſtreights of Damalcherry, and when arrived within ten miles, he, at the requeſt of the renter who farmed the offerings, halted his troops; and, proceeding himſelf with a few attendants, paid his devotions with much reverence one day on the top of the mountain, and the next, in the temples below. During the march and return of this pilgrimage, he reſtrained all the troops which accompanied him from committing any violences in the country through which they paſſed: but ſeveral parties from the camp were at this time ravaging the ſkirts of the province of Cudapah.

With the other advices from England came orders for recalling Col. Adlercron and his regiment; but according to permiſſion from the

the war-office, moſt of the common men inliſted in the Company's troops; and there being no conveyance ready to carry away the reſt, no alteration enſued in the ſtrength of the army. 1757. Auguſt.

The French army at Vandiwaſh, as ſoon as the Engliſh cantoned themſelves in Conjeveram, employed their Sepoys and horſe to ravage the country. A detachment immediately took poſſeſſion of Outramalore, and from thence plundered the diſtricts of Salawauk: a much larger, with two field-pieces, marched into the diſtricts of Chittapett, where they were ſurprized and beaten by 200 Sepoys and 500 horſe from the fort. This routed body being reinforced, divided into two, one of which plundered as far as Timery within five miles of Arcot, and the other to Cavantandalum within ſix of Conjeveram; but theſe incurſions were ſo ſudden and tranſitory, that no motions were made by the troops there to repell them. However, 100 Sepoys were ſent from the fort of Arcot, to aſſiſt Chittapet, who were attacked and made their way through a ſtronger party of the enemy's. The month of Auguſt paſſed in theſe alarms, which were then ſucceeded by one of more conſequence. Of the three feaſts which are annually celebrated at Tripetti, that which falls in the beginning of September is held in much higher devotion than either of the other two, and more money is collected in proportion, ſince the number of pilgrims is much greater. In the beginning of June Nazeabulla, the rebel governor of Nelore, returned from Maſulipatam, accompanied by eighty French ſoldiers. He, however, remained quiet until the Nabob's troops under the command of Abdulwahab, had marched away to Arcot, and thoſe of the two Polygars, Damerla Venkytapah and Bangar Yatcham, had withdrawn to their homes. He then took the field, but confined his operations to incurſions into the opener country of the Polygars, until the middle of Auguſt, when he marched ſuddenly with his whole force, and ſat down before the fort of Cadawah, ſituated within twelve miles of Tripetti, and belonging to the Nabob. This motion left no doubt of his intention to collect the revenue of the approaching feaſt, which had for ſome years been aſſigned to the company. On the firſt advices of the danger, the preſidency

1757. August. ordered a detachment of 100 Europeans, with two field-pieces, their artillery-men, and 300 Sepoys, to march with all expedition from Conjeveram, under the command of Captain Polier; and at the ſame time ordered the two Polygars to act in concert with this detachment, which ſet out on the firſt of September.

September.

On the 6th, four of the Company's ſhips from England anchored in the road of Madraſs. It was ſome time that the Triton, a frigate of twenty guns, belonging to the ſquadron, and the Revenge, of the ſame rate, belonging to the Company, and commanded by commodore James, had been ſtationed to cruize off Pondicherry, in order to intercept any of the enemy's veſſels, or give the intelligence of the coaſt to all the Engliſh ſhips they might meet; and they were likewiſe inſtructed to take out of the firſt from England the recruits they might bring; which were to be immediately landed at Fort St. David, as the ſafeſt and moſt expeditious means of reſtoring to that garriſon the men which had lately been taken from it to ſerve in the expedition to Madura, and in the campaign of Vandiwaſh. The cruizers diſcovered the four Indiamen between Pondicherry and Fort St. David, joined them off of Alamparvah, and took on board all the recruits, which were 200; but having fallen 30 miles to leeward, it was the 7th at 10 at night before they anchored again in the road of Fort St. David. At the dawn of day they diſcovered 11 ſhips at anchor, extending from the eaſt to the ſouth, and none at more than three miles diſtance. The cruizers immediately got under weigh, and were ſoon convinced, that the ſtrangers, although they ſhewed Engliſh colours, were French ſhips. Nevertheleſs, Commodore James reſolved to diſembark the recruits in the Revenge, ſending as many as the three boats of the ſhip could carry to the outſide of the ſurf, where they were received and landed by the maſſoolas of the ſhore, which always begin to ply at day-break. The boats returning, took the reſt of the recruits, but before they could reach the ſhip again, the foremoſt of the enemy's ſquadron were come ſo nigh, that it was neceſſary to fly, and leave the boats to the ſhore. The Triton not ſailing ſo well as the Revenge, and being under other reſtrictions of ſervice, had not ventured the delay of landing the recruits ſhe had taken on board, but had advanced on her

way, although ſlowly, waiting for her comrade, which ſoon joined her, when both, under ſuch a cloud of ſail as amazed the enemy, ſtood before them; but were nevertheleſs ſo preſſed by two of their prime ſailers, which kept without, that they were obliged to ſail through the road of Pondicherry itſelf; where a ſhip of force was riding, which, inſtead of cutting her cable, and beginning an engagment, ſuffered the cruizers to paſs, whilſt ſhe was weighing her anchor at the capſtone to purſue them. As ſoon as they were beyond Pondicherry, the enemy, afraid of falling to leeward of their port, ceaſed the chaſe, and anchored in the road. The cruizers then hailed, and agreed, that the Revenge ſhould proceed immediately with the intelligence to Bengal, and the Triton to Madraſs, where ſhe anchored early the next morning. 1757. September.

The council was immediately ſummoned, and their determinations were ſoon taken. All the ſcribes in the ſettlement were not adequate to the orders and advices which it became immediately neceſſary to iſſue. The main body of the army at Conjeveram was ordered to come into Madraſs, the detachment with Polier recalled from Tripetti: Calliaud with the Europeans to return from Madura, whether taken or not, to Tritchinopoly; if taken, to bring away likewiſe Mahomed Iſſoof, with 1000 Sepoys. Inſtructions were ſent to the Engliſh garriſons in Carangoly, Chinglapett, and Arcot; and intelligence of the danger to every other fort in the country ſubject to, or in the intereſts of, the Nabob: advices to the preſidency of Bengal, and the ſquadron there; to Bombay and all the factories on the Malabar coaſt. A veſſel was diſpatched to cruize off Ceylon, with intelligence for the ſhips daily expected from England. Another was ſent to anchor off Cobelong, 20 miles to the ſouth of Madraſs, in order to make ſignals on the firſt appearance of the French ſquadron now at Pondicherry.

The council at Fort St. David, not obſerving, or not diſcerning, the motions of the cruizers, fancied the ſhips they ſaw arriving, were the men of war expected from England, with ſome of the company's ſhips under their convoy, and in this perſuaſion ſent one

1757. September. of the agents in a maſſoola to compliment the admiral, and to deliver a letter from the preſidency, in which, "the admiral was re- "queſted to cruize off Ceylon, in order to encounter or intercept "the enemy's, and to protect the Engliſh ſhips expected on the "coaſt in that track of navigation; and it was confidently ſup- "poſed, that Mr. Watſon, with the ſhips under his command, would "arrive from Bengal, in the other track, by the middle of September, "when every ſucceſs might be expected, from the junction of the "two ſquadrons, and even Pondicherry itſelf brought to riſque." The agent did not perceive the miſtake until too near to eſcape, but had time to conceal, as he thought, the letter between two planks of the ſeat: he was received on board with civility, and with the maſſoola carried to Pondicherry.

Several anxious days paſſed in expectation that the French ſhips would bear down from thence, and ſcour the road of Madraſs, where the loſs of the China ſhips would have been of much evil conſequence to the Company's commerce. Several days more, before even an imperfect account could be obtained, what the French ſhips were, what force they brought, and what their proceedings after their arrival; and it was long after, before the motives of their conduct at this time were diſcovered.

The ſquadron conſiſted of four ſhips of 60 guns, two of 50, three of 36, 30, and 22, and two of 16 guns, with a bomb-ketch; in all 12 veſſels, moſt of which ſailed from France in the end of December, but being ſeparated by a gale of wind, the laſt did not arrive at Mauritius until the 25th of June. They brought from France the regiment of Lorrain, with 50 of the king's artillery, the whole under the command of the Marquis de Soupires, of the rank of marſhal de camp, which anſwers to that of major general with us. They ſailed on the 1ſt of July from Mauritius to the iſle of Bourbon, where they took on board Mr. Bouvet, who was appointed to conduct the ſquadron to India; he was governor of this iſland, and one of the ableſt navigators belonging to France. On the 15th, they arrived at Foule Point on Madagaſcar, where they remained the reſt of the month taking in proviſions, of which their own iſlands were

not

not able to furniſh a ſufficiency. From hence they ſailed on the 1ſt of Auguſt, and on the 9th of September, the day after their arrival at Pondicherry, landed 983 men of Lorrain, of which 63 were ſick, the 50 artillery-men, and 60 volunteers from Bourbon, with their equipages; beſides which had been embarked in the ſhips, 20 pieces of battering cannon, ſome mortars, and a great number of bombs and balls. M. Soupires, who by his commiſſion took the direction and command of all military operations, ſummoned a mixed council, of the military, the marine, and the civil government, in which he propoſed that the ſhips and troops ſhould immediately inveſt and blockade Fort St. David; but the letter from the preſidency of Madraſs to the Engliſh Admiral had been diſcovered in the Maſſoola, and raiſed ſuch a conſternation in the French ſquadron, by the apprehenſions of ſeeing every hour a force ſuperior to their own, that Mr. Bouvet declared he had done enough in landing the troops, and ſhould ſail immediately back to the iſlands: no arguments could change his reſolution, nor would he wait to diſembark the artillery and heavy ammunition, becauſe they ſerved as part of the ballaſt in the different ſhips, which it would require fifteen days to ſhift and reinſtate in a condition fit for ſailing. Thus was much detriment prevented by the accident of diſcovering the letter, which, at the time it happened, was deemed a great miſchance. 1757. September.

The ſudden departure of the French ſhips diminiſhed in ſome degree the apprehenſions which had been raiſed by their arrival. The army from Conjeveram was ordered to encamp on the plain near Madraſs; the detachment with Polier, which had returned as far as Tripaſſour, to march back and protect the feaſt at Tripetty, until concluded: and Calliaud was permitted to continue before Madura, if any chance remained of getting the place.

This officer, very infirm before, fell dangerouſly ill immediately after the repulſe of the laſt attack, and was obliged to retire to the neighbouring village of Trivalore, where he remained until the 4th of Auguſt, before his health was ſufficiently reſtored to endure the fatigues of the camp; however, this time was not entirely loſt. The greater and leſſer Moravars, at his ſolicitaion, ſent their troops as far *Auguſt.*

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as Coilguddy, ready to act on call. The Polygar Catabominague came himſelf with 1000 Colleries. Myanah, who was the fugitive governor of Madura when Maphuze Khan came into the country, quitting the receſſes of Nattam, and diſclaiming all farther connexions with the rebels, came to the camp, with a large retinue, ſome troops, and, as a proof of his ſincerity, brought his family: by his influence the aſſiſtance of moſt of the Nattam colleries was ſecured. Nabey Cawn Catteck, the ancient colleague of Myana, kept himſelf concealed in the woods of Moravar, without making any efforts to aſſiſt the garriſon; and what perhaps was equal to any one of theſe advantages, 50 Europeans, and a nine-inch mortar, had arrived at the camp from Tritchinopoly.

With the other defections, the Jemautdars in Madura had reaſon to doubt of the aſſiſtance they expected from Maphuze Khan with the weſtern Polygars of Tinivelly, and from the Myſoreans at Dindigul.

Five hundred horſe and a thouſand foot remained with Maphuze Khan at Nellitangaville, when Berkatoolah left him and came away to defend Madura, which Calliaud at the ſame time was marching to attack with the main body of the Engliſh troops from Tinivelly. As ſoon as Calliaud was out of ſight, Maphuze Khan and the Pulitaver took the field, and were joined by other Poylgars, which all together made up a camp of 10,000 men. This army marched from Nellitangaville in the latter end of April, and advanced beyond Alvar Courchy within 15 miles of Tinivelly, but were deterred by the Sepoys left there from attempting the town; nor did they immediately plunder or terrify the inhabitants of the open country, becauſe the harveſt, from which they intended to collect money, would not be reaped until the middle of June; however, they publiſhed their mandates that all who were accountable to the renter Modilee ſhould then become accountable to them. In the mean time Maphuze Khan negotiated with the king of Travancore for aſſiſtance, with the profer of Calacad and all the other diſtricts to which the king had ever made any pretenſion, and more; but, leſt this ſhould fail, he, with his uſual uncertainty renewed his negotiations

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ations with the Engliſh, and ſent off an agent with letters to Calliaud, propoſing to rent the country from them on the ſecurity of ſubſtantial ſhroffs. Lieutenant Rumbold received theſe offers whilſt Calliaud was returned to the relief of Tritchinopoly, and, thinking them worth attention, ſent a Jemautdar of Sepoys named Ramanaig, with an intelligent Moorman, to confer with Maphuze Khan in his camp. They were accompanied by an eſcort of 50 Sepoys; but juſt before their arrival, Maphuze Khan had received information, that the ſix companies of Sepoys, of the twelve left at Tinivelly and Palamcotah, were ordered to join the camp at Madura; which changed his ſchemes, and inſtead of negotiating, he ſurrounded the two deputies and their eſcort with his horſe, and threatened to put them all to the ſword, if they did not ſend an order to the Sepoys in garriſon at Palamcotah to deliver the fort to him. The deputies with their eſcort ſtood to their arms, and ſaid, they would rather die; but, juſt as the fight was going to begin, one of Maphuze Khan's Jemautdars, named Ally Saheb, declared his deteſtation of the treachery, and joined the Sepoys with the horſe of his command; on which the reſt recollected themſelves, and retired; but Ally Saheb, having ſtill ſome ſuſpicions for the ſafety of the deputies and their eſcort, marched with them to Palamcotah, and delivered them ſafe into the fort. Soon after the ſix companies of Sepoys began their march from Tinivelly to Madura, and the harveſt began, on which the enemy's army entered the town, where Maphuze Khan proclaimed his dominion, which his agents and dependants exerciſed with much violence and injuſtice. Even the ſhroffs, or bankers, did not eſcape; although the neceſſity and neutrality of their occupation protects their perſons and property throughout Indoſtan from the violence either of the deſpot or the conqueror. The main body of his army inveſted the fort of Palamcotah, which the Sepoys within eaſily defended, and with loſs to the enemy; but there was danger from ſcarcity of proviſions; to prevent which, Buſſaponiague, the commander of the Sepoys, ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the Polygar Catabominaigue, who ſtipulated the ceſſion of ſome lands convenient to his diſtricts; which being promiſed, he took the field with his

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own troops, and thoſe of his dependant of Etiaporum. On their arrival the garriſon ſallied, and in a ſlight ſkirmiſh obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege: after which, the two Polygars returned to their homes, and Catabominaigue from his, came and joined the Engliſh camp before Madura. Maphuze Khan continuing at Tinivelly, neither ſent money or troops to the Jemautdars, but ſuffered the incomes to be diſſipated, notwithſtanding Berkatoolah had continually repreſented to him, that the ſcarcity of proviſions in Madura was daily increaſing from the want of money to pay for them, and of parties in the field to facilitate their importation.

Berkatoolah was at the ſame time equally diſappointed of the arrival of the Myſoreans, which had long been promiſed from day to day, and more lately with aſſurance that Hyderally himſelf was come to Dindigul to command them in perſon; but, on more diligent enquiry, it was diſcovered that Hyderally was ſtill at Seringapatam, and that the troops at Dindigul did not exceed the uſual garriſon. Thus deſerted, he reſolved to treat with Calliaud, and profered to deliver the city, if the Engliſh would pay the arrears due from Maphuze Khan to the troops within; but made no ſtipulation for thoſe who had been their former comrades and were now either with Maphuze Khan, or any where elſe out of the town. The arrears he ſtated at 1,600,000 rupees, but, on account of ſums levied in the country, offered to abate 400,000: theſe propoſals were ſigned by himſelf and four of the principal Jemautdars. Calliaud, after treating them for ſome time with contempt, propoſed his own; which were, to pay 100,000 rupees for the arrears to the troops, 20,000 as a preſent to Berkatoolah himſelf, 8000 to each of the four Jemautdars who had ſigned with him, and 2000 to each of the commanders of the three companies of Sepoys; in all 150,000. Many days and meſſages paſſed in chaffering concerning the money; during which the Polygars kept their watches ſo ſtrictly in the country round, that no proviſions could be carried in, and the inhabitants were reduced to rice alone, and that without ſalt; on which all, not occupied in military ſervices, left the town, and were permitted to go away unmoleſted. At the ſame time the former battery was ſtrengthened,

ened, and enlarged to the capacity of receiving all the artillery, which were two eighteen-pounders, 10 field-pieces, and a nine-inch mortar. Every day the diſtreſs increaſed; and in the beginning of September horſemen daily came over to the camp. On the 7th Calliaud informed Berkatoolah that his battery was ready, and would open the next morning; after which, no terms of compoſition would be received. The negotiator was a relation of Berkatoolah, whom Calliaud had attached by generoſities, and Berkatoolah believed: his repreſentations in this deciſive moment prevailed; and he returned on the morning of the 8th with the treaty ſigned: the ſum agreed was 170,000 rupees, 20,000 more than the firſt offer; and at noon Calliaud with the troops were received into the town. This important acquiſition was made on the very day that Mr. de Soupires with the French forces landed at Pondicherry. 1757. September.

The preſidency received the news on the 16th. It was the only advantage which had been gained during the loſſes and diſtreſſes to which the company's affairs in Coromandel had been expoſed ſince the departure of the armament to Bengal: it would have been deemed of the higheſt importance even in fortunate times; and at preſent was the more acceptable, becauſe ſcarcely within expectation; for, had the ſurrender been protracted until the arrival of the French ſquadron had been known to the garriſon, little chance would have remained of gaining the place; which continuing in the poſſeſſion of enemies confederated with the French, would have greatly influenced many ſubſequent events, by means which were now entirely precluded.

In the mean time the French at Pondicherry were holding councils what to do with their new force. It having been determined not to attack Fort St. David, from apprehenſions of the Engliſh ſquadron, Tritchinopoly would probably have been the object, if Mr. Soupire had not been inſtructed to refrain from any diſtant enterprize, which might impair the force under his command, before the arrival of a greater which was following from France; when both united might attempt any thing. It was therefore reſolved to

1757. September. act in the country between Pondicherry and the Paliar, and to begin by the ſiege of Chittapet. The French troops, which had taken the field before the arrival of the ſquadron, were ſtill remaining in their camp at Vandiwaſh, and on the 21ſt appeared in ſight of Chittapet, where, on the 25th, they were joined by 300 of the regiment of Lorrain, and a train of artillery from Pondicherry.

The advance of the French troops created no little conſternation in the city of Arcot, and incidentally became the cauſe of much confuſion there. The Nabob had left the government of the city to his brother Abdulwahab, aſſiſted by the councils of his mother, of Sampetrow, who had been the Duan or miniſter of his father, and of Ebrar Cawn, the Buxey or general of the troops. Many of the cavalry levied for the expedition to Nelore, had lately quitted his ſervice for want of pay; ſome had enliſted with the French at Vandiwaſh, others with Mortizally at Velore. The deſertion continuing, one Dana Sing, a ſtraggling Jemautdar, came in the beginning of September, and encamped near the ſuburbs of Arcot with a hundred horſe, intending to increaſe the number, by enliſting ſuch as left the Nabob's ſervice, and then offer the whole to the beſt bidder. Theſe practices are ſo common in Indoſtan, that a body of cavalry may encamp between two oppoſite armies, and remain unmoleſted by either, whilſt undecided which to join; and Dana Sing, relying on the cuſtoms he knew, proſecuted his buſineſs without reſerve, and even with the knowledge of the Engliſh commandant in the fort, whom he ſometimes viſited. But malicious perſons, who were in poſſeſſion of the confidence of the commandant, began to inſinuate, that the former as well as the preſent deſertions were the effects of colluſion and treachery, between the troops and Abdulwahab with the others to whom the Nabob had entruſted the government. Their artifices awakened his ſuſpicions, which began to ſee the phantoms of plots and conſpiracies, after which the ſlighteſt incidents became proofs to his credulity, and unluckily one happened, which might have raiſed miſtruſt in a more ſagacious mind. The Nabob's mother had in appanage the fort of Chitore, ſituated in the mountains, about 20 miles from the pagoda of Tripetti, and governed

governed it with the adjacent domain, without the interference of any other authority. Being old and infirm, ſhe was ſo much frightened by the reports and approach of the French troops, that ſhe packed up her treaſure and valuable effects with ſome of Abdulwahab's, intending to ſend them to Chitore. The ſame malice which had already prejudiced, eaſily perſuaded the commandant, that both the mother and ſon intended to make their eſcape from the city, and take refuge with ſome or other of the Nabob's enemies. Every perſon and every circumſtance were now ſuſpected of treaſon; a party of Sepoys ſeized Sampetrow, another the Jemautdar Dana Sing; and both were put into confinement. Ebrar Cawn was obliged to depart from the city, the very interpreter and the news-writer of the Morattoes were likewiſe compelled to go. The firſt carriages which were proceeding to Chitore, were likewiſe ſtopped and brought to the fort, and with them ſeveral female attendants belonging to the Nabob's mother, over whoſe palace a ſtrong regard was ſet, to prevent her eſcape; and all letters were intercepted. Abdulwahab, ſuſpecting as much miſchief as he was ſuſpected of, went off with 40 horſemen in the night, it was the 24th of September, nor thought himſelf ſafe until he reached Chitore; the next day his houſe was ſearched, and the moſt valuable of his effects, with all his papers, were ſeized. For three days and three nights all the Sepoys of the garriſon were marching and counter-marching, taking and changing poſts, as if the town had been inveſted, and in danger of being forced by an army of 40,000 men; whereas, luckily, it was not neceſſary to fire a ſingle muſket: nevertheleſs the commandant could not be perſuaded of this ſecurity, and obliged the Nabob's mother to quit the city on the 27th, under a ſtrong guard from his garriſon, which eſcorted her to Covrepauk. The Preſidency heard theſe tidings with amazement, and finding by the intercepted letters that no evil deſigns had been intended by any of the aggrieved, made candid apologies to all; and immediately ſent another officer to take the command of the fort. The Nabob and his mother were convinced and appeaſed; but Abdulwahab, either from pride, or ſome hopes of obtaining an

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1757. October. independant eſtabliſhment, would not return from Chitore, but levied troops, and correſponded with the Morattoes.

On the firſt of October, Mr. Soupire encamped the reſt of the Lorrain regiment at Valdoor, as a body of obſervation ready either to intercept any ſuccours which might be ſent from Fort St. David, or to march to the Paliar, if the main body of the Engliſh force at Madraſs ſhould take the field to interrupt the ſiege of Chittapet. The kellidar, on the firſt motion of the French troops, ſaw his danger, and aſked in preſſing, but manly terms, the aſſiſtance of the preſidency. It was then almoſt too late, for the Engliſh had no force at hand, ſufficient to make their way through the firſt diviſion which had ſet down before his fort; nevertheleſs ſtratagem and activity might have conducted ſome. Unfortunately the Nabob Mahomedally bore a deep grudge againſt the kellidar, for offences which power rarely pardons. He had received his appointment from Murzafajing, which had been confirmed by Nazirjing, and by his ſucceſſor, the preſent Subah, on the conditions of the ancient governors of forts in Indoſtan, appointed by the Mogul to reſtrain inſtead of ſtrengthening the hands of the Nabob, againſt whom the kellidar is obliged, in many inſtances, to ſhut his gates. Nizar Mahomed never quitted this idea of his own dignity, keeping his court, conſtituting officers, and levying troops, without aſking the Nabob's conſent or approbation; and ſome months before aggravated his offence by receiving a commiſſion from Salabadjing, appointing him, in addition to his own, and with equal privileges, governor of the neighbouring fort of Polore, from which his diſtricts had been often moleſted. The patents were uſhered into Chittapet with much ceremony, and proclaimed to the garriſon and vaſſals with oſtentation, immediately after which the kellidar took the field with the greateſt part of his force, and marched againſt Polore. The Nabob, ſtung and exaſperated, reproached the preſidency with the proceedings of their ally, whom, having formerly ſerved in Bengal under the Nabob Allaverdy, he accuſed of a ſtrict connexion with his ſucceſſor Surajahdowlah, from whom he alledged the kellidar had lately received a large ſum of money, to be employed in conjunction with the French at Pondi-

cherry, to the diſtreſs of his own government and the Engliſh affairs in the Carnatic. The preſidency reprimanded the kellidar for the intemperance of his conduct againſt Polore, who immediately retired, and apologized with a frankneſs ſcarcely compatible with diſſimulation; and from this time, which was the end of the laſt year, he continued to inform them of his wants, tranſactions, and apprehenſions. Nevertheleſs, the Nabob's repreſentations (ſuch is the infirmity of human nature, which enters even into public councils) left ſuſpicions: otherwiſe, means would, in all probability, have been contrived to have thrown 100 Europeans into the fort at this juncture; nor would they before have neglected to ſupply it with ſome pieces of cannon, which the kellidar had often ſollicited. The fort of Chittapet is built of ſtone, and is extenſive, being within the ditch 540 yards from north to ſouth, and 430 on the other ſides: it has round towers at the angles, and in each of theſe a high cavalier; beſides which, it has only 10 ſquare towers, three on the longeſt, and two on each of the other ſides. But all theſe towers are much more ſpacious, than in the generality of the forts of Coromandel; and the gateway on the northern ſide is the largeſt pile of this conſtruction in the Carnatic, being capable of containing on its terraſſes, five hundred men drawn up under arms. The fauſſe-bray is ſkirted by a ſtreight and ſlight parapet without projections into the ditch, which is ſupplied with water, but with the uſual negligence of Indian fortifications, was at this time in ſome parts fordable. Adjacent to the weſtern ſide of the fort, nearly of the ſame extent, is a pettah, encloſed by a mud wall with round towers. The French carried the pettah by aſſault, in which they eſtabliſhed their breaching battery; erecting likewiſe two others, without, to enfilade. The principal battery, as ſoon as compleated, was rendered uſeleſs by an exceſſive fall of rain, and as ſoon as repaired, the kellidar ſallied, killed part, and drove the reſt of the guard away, diſmounted the cannon, and carried off the ammunition and tools.

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1757. October. The news of this ſucceſs determined the preſidency to ſupport the kellidar; they ordered the commandant at Arcot to ſend a reinforcement of Europeans and Sepoys with a ſupply of ammunition, requeſted the Nabob to ſend what horſe he had ready, and Armetrow, with his detachment of Morattoes, to join and accompany the reinforcement; and, moreover, promiſing to bear the expence, ſollicited Balaventrow to detach a larger body of Morattoes, to harraſs the enemy's poſts, and intercept their convoys. But the Nabob's horſe ſeeing no ready money, would not expoſe themſelves; Armetrow was gone to pay his devotions at Tripetti; and Balaventrow, with the main body of his army, had left Cadapanatam, and was advanced ſeveral marches towards Viziapore. In this interval the French troops which had been kept back at Valdore arrived before Chittapet, and with the former force were ſufficient to inveſt it on all ſides, and prevent the introduction of any ſuccours.

By the 13th, the breach was practicable, when the French ſummoned the kellidar, who anſwered, that he waited the aſſault. In the enſuing night a party, in which were the grenadiers of Lorrain, concealed themſelves near the great gateway, where the ditch was fordable, and at dawn of day the main body advanced from the battery to the breach, when the ſignal was thrown up for the other party to eſcalade, which ſucceeded beyond their expectation, meeting few to oppoſe them; for the greateſt part of the garriſon were aſſembled with the kellidar at their head at the breach, which they defended manfully, until he fell dead, ſhot by two muſket balls: at the ſame inſtant the eſcalade had gained the terraſs of the gateway, from which they proceeded along the rampart, driving all before them until they came in flank of the breach, where their fire and onſet confounded the reſiſtance againſt the main aſſault, which, a few minutes after gained the rampart likewiſe, when the conqueror ſpared neither the proſtrate nor the fugitive, excepting the Engliſh ſoldiers, who were nineteen, to whom quarter was offered, which they accepted. None other of the garriſon eſcaped, excepting ſuch as jumped from the walls, and gained the plain;

plain; amongſt whom were about 50 of the Engliſh Sepoys. Fire was ſet to the dwelling of the kellidar, probably becauſe the women had barricaded their apartments; and an event is told concerning the fate of his principal wife, which, to ſave a diſgrace to human nature, we ſhall not repeat. Thus fell Nizar Mahomed, a victim to his good faith, although ſuſpected of treachery, and with the utmoſt gallantry, although ſcarcely believed to be brave. The preſidency much regretted his fall, becauſe owing in ſome meaſure to their own neglect, by which their other allies might be rendered diffident of their aſſiſtance in the hour of danger and diſtreſs. 1757. October.

Nazeabullah, on the approach of the detachment with Polier, broke up his camp before Cadawah, and retired to Nelore; where he ſtopped all the votaries paſſing from the northward through his territory to the feaſt at Tripetti, of which the income by this interception was conſiderably diminiſhed; as ſoon as concluded, the detachment returned to Madraſs, where they arrived on the 25th of September, but in the way Polier ſent off two companies of Sepoys to reinforce thoſe already at Conjeveram. The fall of Chittapet alarmed the preſidency for all their out garriſons; and precautions were taken in proportion to their importance. Carangoly ſtanding 15 miles s.w. of Chinglapet, on the ſouth ſide of the Paliar, and near the late acquiſitions of the French, was garriſoned by 300 Sepoys; but as its walls were in a ruinous condition, they were ordered to retreat, on imminent danger, to Chinglapet, and to repair thither if Chinglapet were threatened before them. What diſtricts were beyond Carangoly, and occupied only by ſlight parties of the enemy's troops, were conſigned to the recovery and management of Murzafabeg, a partizan recommended by the Nabob, who was to account for nothing, and maintain them as he could, out of the revenues he might collect. Stores, ammunition, and ſome Europeans were ſent to Arcot; and Timary, Covrepauk, Cavantandelum, and two or three other, but ſmaller forts, were ordered to act in reſpect to Arcot, as Carangoly to Chinglapett. But the French army, fearful of venturing too far from Pondicherry, and ſtill more of croſſing the

1757. October. Paliar, as the rains were approaching, unexpectedly turned from Chittapet to the ſouth, and went againſt Trinomalee.

During theſe operations and alarms in the Carnatic, the arrival of the French ſquadron had created equal apprehenſions in the ſouthern countries. Calliaud received the intelligence from Devi Cotah and Fort St. David ſeveral days before the advices from the preſidency could reach Madura, and without delay began his march back to Tritchinopoly, with all the Europeans; but left Mahomed Iſſoof with the Sepoys and the reſt of the camp, to defend Madura and its dependencies, and to recover and protect, as far as the force and occaſions allowed, the diſtricts of Tinivelly: for the timidity of Modilee could not ſtand the field; and dreading ſtill more to be left alone with Mahomed Iſſoof, he again accompanied Captain Calliaud; who the day after he left Madura, met at Nattam the firſt letters of the preſidency ordering both himſelf and Mahomed Iſſoof to return immediately to Trtchinopoly; nevertheleſs ſeveral arrangements, neceſſary on a new acquiſition of ſuch importance, induced him to continue Mahomed Iſſoof ten days longer at Madura. On the 20th, he himſelf arrived with the Europeans, 250, at Tritchinopoly, where he was ſoon after informed, that the whole of the French force had taken the field; and although in the interval he received orders countermanding the return either of himſelf or Mahomed Iſſoof, he now preferred the firſt idea of being ready to make head at Tritchinopoly, with a ſtrong force, until the ſeaſon, intelligence, or the chance of war, might determine what might juſtly be apprehended from the operations of the enemy. Accordingly Mahomed Iſſoof with a thouſand Sepoys, followed him and arrived at Tritchinopoly on the 8th of October. In the mean time Berkatoolah had been ſent with propoſals to induce Maphuze Khan to quit the Tinivelly country, but the arrival of the French force had elevated him with ſuch hopes, that he rejected all terms excepting the government both of Madura and Tinivelly at certain tributes, which he never intended to pay. This anſwer Mahomed Iſſoof received before he left Madura; as alſo certain intelligence that Hiderally, the Myſore general, was at length arrived with a conſiderable force at Dindigul: and, as the

ſetting

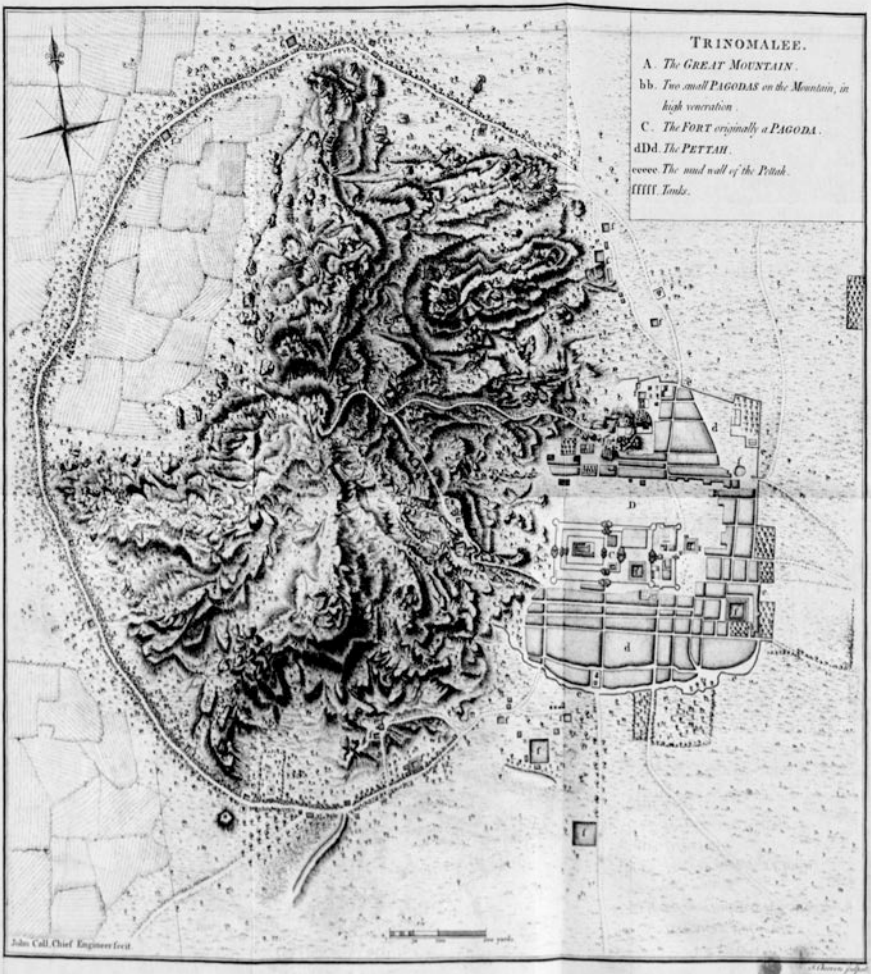
ſetting in of the rains in the Carnatic had by this time removed all apprehenſions of immediate danger to Tritchinopoly, notwithſtanding the reduction of Chittapet, Calliaud reſolved that Mahomed Iſſoof ſhould return again to Madura with the troops he had brought, as ſoon as they were refreſhed and furniſhed with ſome additional equipments. They accordingly ſet out on the 20th of October. 1757. October.

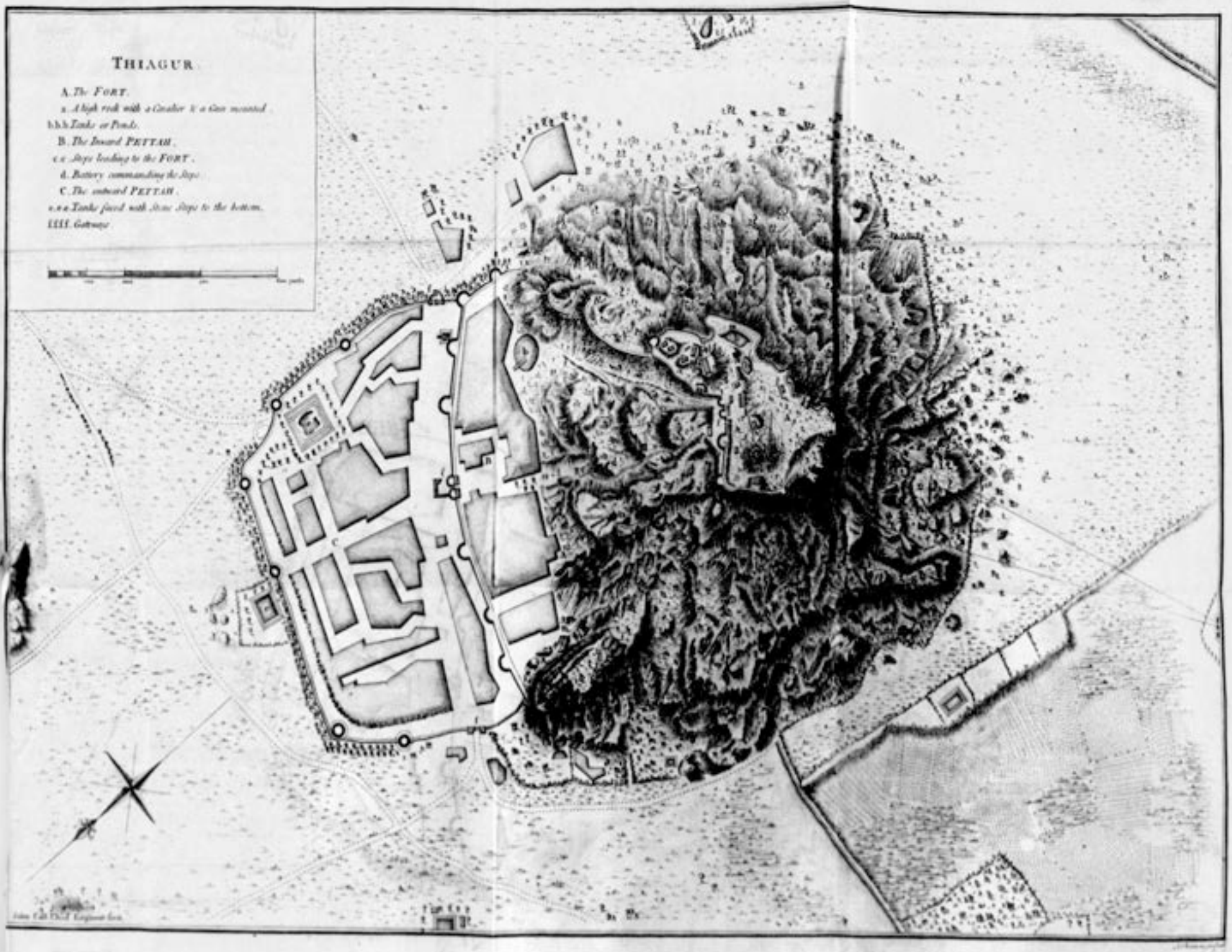
On the 16th, the ſame day that the preſidency received the news of the loſs of Chittapett, arrived a veſſel from Bengal with authentic advices of the revolution in that province produced by the ſucceſs at Plaſſy: the ſucceeding days and veſſels brought to the company, and to individuals, ſome part of the treaſure which had been poured into Calcutta by that extraordinary event, and the reputation of a credit, adequate to the utmoſt wants of the Engliſh affairs in Coromandel: but this unexpected proſperity was ſomewhat clouded by the certainty of not receiving back any part of their troops in this ſeaſon of neceſſity. Nor were any of the ſhips of war to be expected; for Admiral Pococke, on hearing of the French ſquadron, had taken the reſolution of remaining in the Ganges until January, for the protection of Calcutta, and in expectation of being joined there by the ſhips coming from England; ſoon after, arrived the Queenſborough frigate, diſpatched by Commodore Stevens in Auguſt, from St. Auguſtine's bay in the iſland of Madagaſcar, with information of his intentions to proceed with the four ſhips under his command, to Bombay, from whence they could not reach the coaſt until the beginning of the next year; but the approach of the tempeſtuous ſeaſon leſſened this diſappointment, as it was known that the French themſelves expected no more ſhips of force during this interval.

The French army from Chittapet appeared before Trinomalee on the 18th. This place, notwithſtanding the gallant defence of Berkatoolah in 1753, is more famous for its ſanctity than ſtrength; it is ſituated 30 miles s. s. w. of Chittapet, and 30 w. of Gingee, a craggy mountain, about two miles in circumference, and riſing in the middle to a great height, hath, beſides others, on the higheſt rock,

1757. October. rock, a ſmall chapel, which is held in extreme veneration, from a perſuaſion, that whoſoever, except the appointed Bramins, ſhould preſume to enter it, would immediately be conſumed by a ſubterraneous fire, riſing for the occaſion. On the weſtern ſide is a large pettah, ſurrounded by a ſlight mud wall; it was this Berkatoolah defended; from which are the only paths leading to the chapels, and in the innermoſt part immediately under the mountain, is a ſpacious and well-built pagoda, the reſidence of a multitude of Bramins and their families, as well as of the images to which the whole mountain and pagoda are conſecrated. The mountain, pettah, and a ſpace of arable land to the eaſtward, is encloſed by a bound hedge, ſuch, although not ſo thick ſet, as that of Pondicherry. The Nabob's governor and garriſon abandoned the pettah on the appearance of the French army; which then ſeparated into various detachments againſt various places. The neighbouring kellidar of Polore ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons, and the ſtronger fort of Arni, redeemed the attack, which was threatened, although
November. not intended, for a ſum of money. On the 4th of November the ſtrongeſt of the detachments commanded by Saubinet appeared before the fort of Thiagar, otherwiſe called Tagadurgam. This ſtands 30 miles ſouth of Trinomalee, in the high road to Volcondah and Tritchinopoly. It conſiſts of two fortifications, on a high mountain, one above, but communicating with the other, and a pettah on the plain to the eaſtward, which has not only the common defence of a mud wall, but is likewiſe ſurrounded at a ſmall diſtance by an impenetrable hedge; from which the cannon and muſketry of the French detachment could not remove the matchlock men who defended it, concealed themſelves, and hitting every thing that appeared in ſight: after two days trial, Saubinet received orders to return to Pondicherry, and all the other detachments were recalled at the ſame time. They had reduced eight forts in the neighbourhood of Chittapet, Trinomallee, and Gingee, and eſtabliſhed renters in the diſtricts which depended on them.

As ſoon as the rains abated, the garriſons of Outramalore and Chittapet ſent out parties to attack the diſtricts and ſmaller forts dependant


TRINOMALEE.
A. The GREAT MOUNTAIN.
bb. Two small PAGODAS on the Mountain, in high veneration.
C. The FORT originally a PAGODA.
dDd. The PETTAH.
eeeee. The mud wall of the Pettah.
fffff. Tanks.
John Call, Chief Engineer fecit.


THIAGUR
A. The FORT.
a. A high rock with a Cavalier & a Gun mounted.
b.b.b. Tanks or Ponds.
B. The Inward PETTAH.
c.c. Steps leading to the FORT.
d. Battery commanding the Steps
C. The outward PETTAH.
e.e.e. Tanks faced with Stone Steps to the bottom.
f.f.f.f. Gateways.

pendant on Carangoly and Arcot, and ſlight ſkirmiſhes enſued with various ſucceſs. The harveſt ripening in the beginning of November, Murzafabeg took poſt with 300 Sepoys levied by himſelf, and other force, in the fort of Trivatore, which, ſtanding midway between Outramalore and Arcot, was the moſt central ſituation to protect the diſtricts under his own management: the fort being ſtrong enough to reſiſt a ſudden aſſault, parties detached from it frequently beat away thoſe of the enemy, ſent to levy money from the villages, for the redemption of their grain in the field, until the enemy inveſted the fort with 800 Sepoys, joined by ſome Europeans, with three field-pieces. Captain Richard Smith commanding at this time in Arcot, on notice of the danger, detached five companies of Sepoys with a platoon of Europeans, under the command of Lieutenant Wood, who, halting near Trivatore during the night of the 13th of December, fell upon the beſiegers at day-break the next morning, beat up all their poſts, and took their field-pieces, with which he returned the day after to Arcot; but left one of his companies of Sepoys to reinforce Trivatore. On the 28th 500 Sepoys came again and took poſſeſſion of the pettah, but were driven away by the garriſon on the laſt day of the year. At the ſame time another party from Outramalore blocked up two companies of Sepoys, placed in the mud fort of Cavantandelum, which ſtands about 10 miles to the N.W. of Outramalore, and about midway between Salawauk and Conjeveram. Enſign Banatyne marched with five companies from Carangoly, and beat the Enemy away; but deeming the poſt untenable, withdrew the guard. Thus ended the year in the diſtricts of the Carnatic near the Paliar.

1757. November. December.

The Morattoe, Balaventrow, immediately after the concluſion of Armetrow's negotiation, and his own devotions at Tripetti, marched with the main body of his army from the paſs of Cudapanatam, into the country of Cudapah. The Nabob of this province had aſſembled his force, 6000 horſe, and had been joined by thoſe of Canoul, with 3000 more, all reputed, although not really, Pitans. This army waited for the enemy near the city of Cudapah, which ſtands about 150 miles N. and by W. of Arcot,

1757. December. and is an open town. The Morratoes, contrary to their uſual warfare, were as eager for a deciſive battle as the Pitans. It was fought on the 24th of September with much fury, and ended with the death of the Nabob of Cudapah; the city fell a prey to the conquerors, who plundered every thing, and found a valuable booty. Balaventrow ſoon after received, with the requeſt of the preſidency, an order from Balajerow, to aſſiſt the Engliſh, and immediately detached 1000 horſe to Arcot; but they did not arrive until Chittapet was taken; and the ſubſequent motions of the French threatening no forts of importance, which it was in the power of the Engliſh force to protect without riſquing a general battle, the preſidency ſpared the expence of taking this cavalry into their pay; which however did not join the French, but remained with Armetrow at Arcot until the 5th of December; when he proceeded with them and his former eſcorte to Velore, where they remained quietly until the end of January, waiting the orders of Balaventrow.

The only attempt made by the French troops, after the retreat of their army into Pondicherry, was againſt Palamcotah near the Coleroon, which they inveſted, in the beginning of December, with 100 Europeans, ſome field-pieces, and 500 Sepoys, from the garriſon of Chilambarum, but, having no battering cannon, they were only able to get poſſeſſion of the pettah, from whence they collected the revenues of the lands dependant on the fort, which, as we have ſaid in a former part of our narrative, were an appanage of the Nabob of Cudapah, and were commanded by one of his near relations. The death of the late Nabob did not alter the dependance, and as he had been for ſome time on friendly terms with the Engliſh, 30 Sepoys, with as much ammunition as they could carry, were ſent from Fort St. David, and found means to get into the fort.

November. Whilſt Mahomed Iſſoof was waiting the deciſion of his return from Tritchinopoly to Madura, Hyderally had marched from Dindigul, took the fort of Sholavanden without reſiſtance, and entered the diſtricts of Madura without oppoſition. He continued ſeveral days under the walls of the city; but, finding it much ſtronger than he expected, contented himſelf with plundering the country, ſending

ing off the cattle and other booty to Dindigul. On the approach of Mahomed Iſſoof, he took poſt with a part of his army near the iſſue of the paſs of Nattam, in order to intercept his march. Mahomed Iſſoof without heſitation attacked, and, with the advantage of ſuperior diſcipline, and the execution of his field-pieces, obliged the Myſoreans to give way; who, decamping the enſuing night, croſſed the country to Chevelpetore. By this time, the miſchief they had had done having left nothing more to get worth the expence of remaining in the country, Hyderally collected his detachments, and returned to Dindigul. Mahomed Iſſoof, on his arrival at Madura, enliſted 400, the beſt of Berkatoolah's cavalry; the whole of which were remaining encamped 15 miles from the town, waiting for the ſecond payment of the agreement, having as neutrals, neither given moleſtation to the Myſoreans, or received any from them. He, at the ſame time, ſent invitations to thoſe with Maphuze Khan, and whatſoever other bodies were acting as independent plunderers in the Tinivelly country. As ſoon as the Myſoreans were gone, he began his march to Tinivelly, with a very conſiderable force. Paſſing along the diſtricts of Etiaporum, the Polygar redeemed his hoſtages, which were in the camp, paying 18,700 rupees, the balance of his fine. The army arrived at the town of Tinivelly about the middle of November, from whence Maphuze Khan on their approach had retired to Nellitangaville. He had, during his reſidence there, made various attempts, to get poſſeſſion of the fort of Palamcotah, but had taken Calacad, and given it to the king of Travancore. Mahomed Iſſoof, with a part of the army, marched immediately againſt this place, which the Travancores abandoned without reſiſtance, and, being followed by him, retired behind their walls in the paſſes of the mountains, at the foot of the promontory. At the ſame time, the appearance of other detachments drove away the guards which Maphuze Khan had placed in Papancolam, Alvarcourchy, and Bermadaſs; and thoſe ſtationed by the Polygar of Vadagherry, in Tirancourchy. All theſe places lie to the N.W. of Tinivelly, about Nellitangaville; and parties of Sepoys were left to maintain them. Mahomed Iſſoof had returned

1757. December. November.

1757. December. to Tinivelly by the end of November; and on the 28th of this month, a Jemautdar of horſe lately enliſted endeavoured, with ſome of his troops, to break through his guards to the apartment in which he was, as uſual, laid down to ſleep in the afternoon. Mahomed Iſſoof ſtarting up joined his guards, and more coming, all the intruders were cut down on the ſpot, but killed ſome of their opponents. At this time, he received intelligence, that the French garriſon in the pagoda of Seringham had ſent a detachment of Europeans and Sepoys with artillery, to Hyderally at Dindigul, who, on their arrival, it was ſaid, was preparing to return againſt Madura: the news, although premature, was believed, and determined Mahomed Iſſoof to be there before them. Accordingly, on the 1ſt of December, he began his march from Tinivelly, leaving there and in the other poſts, a ſufficient force to make head againſt Maphuze Khan and his allies, and on the 4th arrived at Chevelpetore, where he remained waiting for more certain advices concerning the Myſoreans, until the end of the month; and in the mean time, ſent a ſtrong detachment to repair the fort of Sholavanden. Before this time, no farther expectation remained of Moodilee's abilities to manage the revenues; and he was called to Madraſs, in order to exhibit and explain the details of his adminiſtration; but remained ſick and ſettling his accounts in the woods of Tondiman. Calliaud had ſent Lieutenant Rumbold in the month of Auguſt to communicate the ſtate of the country; but this officer died on the way at Fort St. David in the month of September: and the preſidency, as ſoon as the rains were ſet in, ordered Calliaud himſelf to come. He arrived on the 14th of November, under the ſafe-guard of a paſſport from Pondicherry, and having communicated his knowledge and opinions returned on the 4th, and reached Tritchinopoly on the 12th of December: his repreſentations convinced the preſidency, that the diſturbances would never ceaſe, nor any revenue be collected, adequate to the military expences, whilſt Maphuze Khan maintained his force, pretenſions, and alliances, in theſe countries. It was therefore propoſed to the Nabob, who ſtill continued at Madraſs, that Maphuze Khan ſhould be aſ-

ſured of receiving an annual income, ſufficient for his decent maintenance, out of the revenues, provided he would quit the country with his cavalry, and diſband his other troops. By this plan, if nothing ſhould be got, nothing would be loſt; and the French, fruſtrated of all connexions, would find it impracticable to get footing in theſe provinces. The Nabob approved the propoſal, and ſent an agent to treat with Maphuze Khan. 1757. December.

Thus ended this buſy anxious year in the Carnatic and its dependencies, during which almoſt every day brought the ſolicitude of ſome ſuſpended event, or the expectation of ſome important miſchance; but unremitting caution and vigilance, directed by knowledge and ſagacity, ſupplied the defect of force. The only error committed by the preſidency was their neglect of Chittapet, which was ſeverely atoned by its loſs. The only advantage obtained was the acquiſition of Madura; but this much more than compenſated all the detriments of the year. Thus the Engliſh councils. To thoſe of Pondicherry no blame could be imputed, becauſe they were reſtricted by the moſt poſitive orders from France, and even ventured more than they were authorized to riſque.

Mr. Buſſy, the commander of their forces in the Decan, had during this year employed them with much more activity, becauſe uncontrouled in his operations. His army, continuing their march from Hyderabad, arrived at Bezoara on the Kriſtna in the end of November of the preceding year, from whence, inſtead of going to Maſulipatam, they ſtruck to the north-eaſt, and proceeded by a frequented road, through the province and city of Elore, from whence they arrived on the 19th of December at the city of Ramundrum, ſituated on the Godaveri, about 30 miles from the ſea, and a day's march from the Engliſh factory at Ingeram. On their approach, Ibrahim Cawn, whom Mr. Buſſy had raiſed to the government of this and the province of Chicacole, dreading the puniſhment of his ingratitude during the diſtreſs of Charmaul, quitted the country, and went away to Aurengabad; but the Rajah Vizeramrauze, confident in the proofs he had given of his attachment, met their army accompanied by ſeveral other Indian chiefs, with their forces, which, with his own, amounted to 10000 men; he

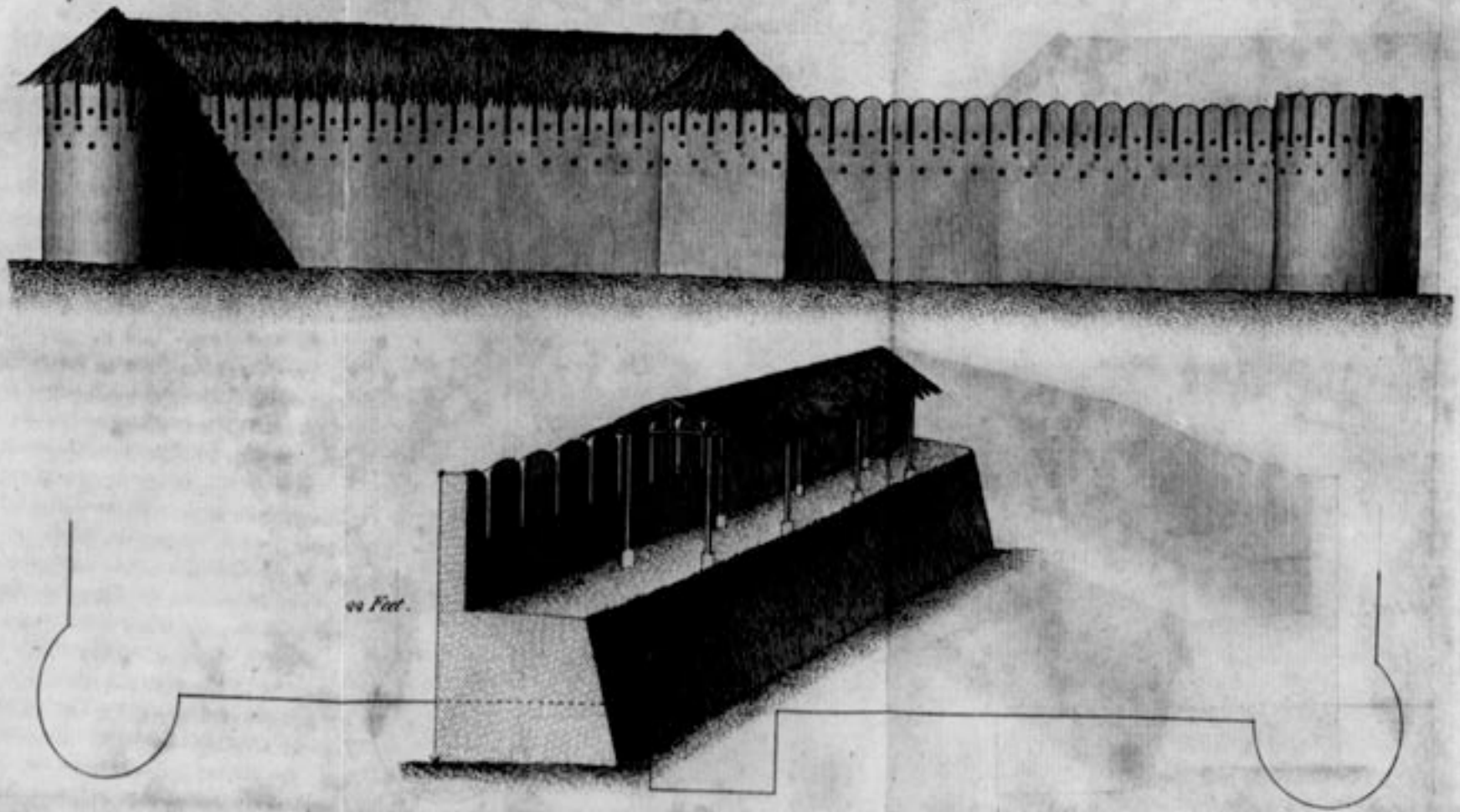
was

1757. December. was received with every mark of reſpect, and employed the favour in which he ſtood, to the gratification of an animoſity, which had long been the leading paſſion of his mind. The tradition of theſe countries ſays, that many centuries before Mahomedaniſm, a king of Jaggernaut, in Orixa, marched to the ſouth with a great army, which ſubdued not only theſe provinces, but, croſſing the Kriſtna, conquered in the Carnatic, as far as Conjeveram: theſe conqueſts he diſtributed in many portions to his relations, officers, and menial ſervants, from whom ſeveral of the preſent northern Polygars pretend to be lineally deſcended, and to govern at this very time the very diſtricts which were then given to their anceſtor. All who claim this genealogy, eſteem themſelves the higheſt blood of native Indians, next to the Bramins, equal to the Rajpoots, and ſupport this pre-eminence by the haughtieſt obſervances, inſomuch that the breath of a different religion, and even of the meaner Indians, requires ablution: their women never transfer themſelves to a ſecond, but burn with the huſband of their virginity; and, although this cruel practice is not unfrequent in moſt of the high families and caſts throughout India, yet it is generally optional: but with the women of theſe antient Polygars, the moſt indiſpenſable of neceſſities.

The firſt in rank of theſe Polygars, who all call themſelves Rajahs, was Rangarao of Bobilee: the fort of this name ſtands cloſe to the mountains about 140 miles N. E. of Vizagapatam; the diſtricts are about twenty ſquare miles. There had long been a deadly hatred between this Polygar and Vizeramrauze, whoſe perſon, how much ſoever he feared his power, Rangarao held in the utmoſt contempt, as of low extraction, and of new note. Diſtricts belonging to Vizeramrauze adjoined to thoſe of Bobilee, whoſe people diverted the water of the rivulets, and made depredations, which Vizeramrauze, for want of better military means, and from the nature of Rangarao's country, could not retaliate. Vizeramrauze uſed his utmoſt influence and arguments to perſuade Mr. Buſſy of the neceſſity of removing this neighbour; and Mr. Buſſy propoſed, that he ſhould quit his hereditary ground

of

ELEVATION of a POLYGARS FORT in the Northern Provinces, as it appears towards the field, Part of the covering is left off in order to shew the form of the Battlements; The curtains are not more than half the length they ought to be in order to comprize the whole Front on the paper



Drawn and communicated by Edward Colsford Esq.r March 1776.

T. Miller fc.

of Bobilee, in exchange for other lands of greater extent and value, in another part of the province; but Rangarao treated the propoſal as an inſult. Soon after, it became neceſſary to ſend a detachment of Sepoys to ſome diſtricts at a diſtance, to which the ſhorteſt road lay through ſome part of the woods of Bobilee: permiſſion was obtained; but, either by ſome contrivance of Vizeramrauze, or the predetermination of Rangarao, the detachment was ſharply attacked, and obliged to retire with the loſs of 30 Sepoys killed, and more wounded. Vizeramrauze improved this moment of indignation; and Mr. Buſſy, not foreſeeing the terrible event to which he was proceeding, determined to reduce the whole country, and to expel the Polygar and all his family. 1757. December.

The province of Chicacole has few extenſive plains, and its hills increaſe in frequency and magnitude, as they approach the vaſt range of mountains that bound this, and the province of Rajahmundrum, to the N.W. The hills, and the narrower bottoms which ſeparate them, are ſuffered to over-run with wood, as the beſt protection to the opener vallies allotted for cultivation. The Polygar, beſides his other towns and forts, has always one ſituated in the moſt difficult part of his country, which is intended as the laſt refuge for himſelf and all of his own blood. The ſingular conſtruction of this fort is adequate to all the intentions of defence amongſt a people unuſed to cannon, or other means of battery. Its out-line is a regular ſquare, which rarely exceeds 200 yards; a large round tower is raiſed at each of the angles, and a ſquare projection in the middle of each of the ſides. The height of the wall is 22 feet, but of the rampart within only 12, which is likewiſe its breadth at top, although it is laid much broader at bottom; the whole is of tempered clay, raiſed in diſtinct layers, of which each is left expoſed to the ſun, until thoroughly hardened, before the next is applied. The parapet riſes 10 feet above the rampart, and is only three feet thick. It is indented five feet down from the top in interſtices ſix inches wide, which are three or four feet aſunder. A foot above the bottom of theſe interſtices and battlements, runs a line of round holes, another two feet lower, and a third within two feet of the rampart:

1757. December.

Theſe holes are, as uſual, formed with pipes of baked clay: they ſerve for the employment of fire-arms, arrows, and lances; and the interſtices for the freer uſe of all theſe arms, inſtead of loop-holes, which cannot be inſerted or cut in the clay. The towers, and the ſquare projections in the middle, have the ſame parapet as the reſt of the wall; and in two of the projections, on oppoſite ſides of the fort, are gateways, of which the entrance is not in the front, but on one ſide, from whence it continues through half the maſs, and then turns by a right angle into the place; and, on any alarm, the whole paſſage is choaked up with trees, and the outſide ſurrounded to ſome diſtance with a thick bed of thick brambles. The rampart and parapet is covered by a ſhed of ſtrong thatch, ſupported by poſts; the eaves of this ſhed project over the battlements, but fall ſo near, that a man can ſcarcely ſqueeze his body between: This ſhed is ſhelter both to the rampart and guards againſt the ſun and rain. An area of 500 yards, or more, in every direction round the fort, is preſerved clear, of which the circumference joins the high wood, which is kept thick, three, four, or five miles in breadth around this center. Few of theſe forts permit more than one path through the wood. The entrance of the path from without is defended by a wall, exactly ſimilar in conſtruction and ſtrength to one of the ſides of the fort; having its round towers at the ends, and the ſquare projection with its gateway in the middle. From natural ſagacity, they never raiſe this redoubt on the edge of the wood; but at the bottom of a receſs, cleared on purpoſe, and on each ſide of the receſs, raiſe breaſt-works of earth or hedge, to gall the approach. The path admits only three men abreaſt, winds continually, is every where commanded by breaſt-works in the thicket, and has in its courſe ſeveral redoubts, ſimilar to that of the entrance, and like that flanked by breaſt-works on each hand. Such were the defences of Bobilee; againſt which Mr. Buſſy marched, with 750 Europeans, of whom 250 were horſe, four field-pieces, and eleven thouſand Peons and Sepoys, the army of Vizeramrauze, who commanded them in perſon.

Whilſt the field-pieces plied the parapet of the firſt redoubt at the entrance of the wood, detachments entered into the ſide of the receſs with

with fire and hatchet, and began to make a way, which tended to bring them in the rear of the redoubt; and the guard, as ſoon as convinced of their danger, abandoned their ſtation, and joined thoſe in the poſts behind; the ſame operations continued through the whole path, which was five miles in length, and with the ſame ſucceſs, although not without loſs. When in ſight of the fort, Mr. Buſſy divided his troops into four diviſions, allotting one, with a field-piece, to the attack of each of the towers. Rangarao was here, with all his parentage, 250 men bearing arms, and nearly twice this number of women and children. 1757. December.

The attack commenced at day-break, on the 24th of January, with the field-pieces againſt the four towers; and the defenders, leſt fire might catch the thatch of the rampart, had pulled it down. By nine o'clock, ſeveral of the battlements were broken, when all the leading parties of the four diviſions advanced at the ſame time, with ſcaling ladders; but, after much endeavour for an hour, not a man had been able to get over the parapet; and many had fallen wounded; other parties followed with as little ſucceſs, until all were ſo fatigued, that a ceſſation was ordered, during which the field-pieces, having beaten down more of the parapet, gave the ſecond attack more advantage; but the ardour of the defence encreaſed with the danger. The garriſon fought with the indignant ferocity of wild beaſts, defending their dens and families: ſeveral of them ſtood, as in defiance, on the top of the battlements, and endeavoured to grapple with the firſt aſcendants, hoping with them to twiſt the ladders down; and this failing, ſtabbed with their lances, but being wholly expoſed themſelves were eaſily ſhot by aim from the rear of the eſcalade. The aſſailants admired, for no Europeans had ever ſeen ſuch exceſs of courage in the natives of Indoſtan, and continually offered quarter, which was always anſwered by the menace and intention of death: not a man had gained the rampart at two o'clock in the afternoon, when another ceſſation of the attack enſued; on which Rangarao aſſembled the principal men, told them there was no hopes of maintaining the fort, and that it was immediately neceſſary to preſerve their wives and children from the violation of Europeans, and the more ignominious authority of Vizeramrauze. *January.*

1757. December. January.

A number called without diſtinction were allotted to the work; they proceeded, every man with a torch, his lance, and poinard, to the habitations in the middle of the fort, to which they ſet fire indiſcriminately, plying the flame with ſtraw prepared with pitch and brimſtone, and every man ſtabbed without remorſe, the woman or child, whichſoever attempted to eſcape the flame and ſuffocation. Not the helpleſs infant clinging to the boſom of its mother ſaved the life of either from the hand of the huſband and father. The utmoſt exceſſes whether of revenge or rage were exceeded by the atrocious prejudices which dictated and performed this horrible ſacrifice. The maſſacre being finiſhed, thoſe who accompliſhed it, returned, like men agitated by the furies, to die themſelves on the walls. Mr. Law, who commanded one of the diviſions, obſerved, whilſt looking at the conflagration, that the number of the defenders was conſiderably diminiſhed, and advanced again to the attack: after ſeveral ladders had failed, a few grenadiers got over the parapet, and maintained their footing in the tower until more ſecured the poſſeſſion. Rangarao haſtening to the defence of the tower, was in this inſtant killed by a muſket ball. His fall encreaſed, if poſſible, the deſperation of his friends; who, crowding to revenge his death, left the other parts of the ramparts bare; and the other diviſions of the French troops, having advanced likewiſe to their reſpective attacks, numbers on all ſides got over the parapet without oppoſition: nevertheleſs, none of the defenders quitted the rampart, or would accept quarter; but each fell advancing againſt, or ſtruggling with, an antagoniſt; and even when fallen, and in the laſt agony, would reſign his poignard only to death. The ſlaughter of the conflict being compleated, another much more dreadful, preſented itſelf in the area below: the tranſport of victory loſt all its joy: all gazed on one another with ſilent aſtoniſhment and remorſe, and the fierceſt could not refuſe a tear to the deplorable deſtruction ſpread before them. Whilſt contemplating it, an old man, leading a boy, was perceived advancing from a diſtant receſs: he was welcomed with much attention and reſpect, and conducted by the crowd to Mr. Law, to whom he preſented the child with

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theſe words; "This is the ſon of Rangarao, whom I have preſerved "againſt his father's will." Another emotion now ſucceeded, and the preſervation of this infant was felt by all as ſome alleviation to the horrible cataſtrophe, of which they had been the unfortunate authors. The tutor and the child were immediately ſent to Mr. Buſſy, who, having heard of the condition of the fort, would not go into it, but remained in his tent, where he received the ſacred captives with the humanity of a guardian appointed by the ſtrongeſt claims of nature, and immediately commanded patents to be prepared, appointing the ſon lord of the territory which he had offered the father in exchange for the diſtricts of Bobilee; and ordered them to be ſtrictly guarded in the camp from the malevolence of enemies. 1757. December. January.

The enſuing night and the two ſucceeding days paſſed in the uſual attentions, eſpecially the care of the wounded, who were many; but in the middle of the third night, the camp was alarmed by a tumult in the quarter of Vizeramrauze. Four of the ſoldiers of Rangarao, on ſeeing him fall, concealed themſelves in an unfrequented part of the fort until the night war far advanced, when they dropped down the walls, and ſpeaking the ſame language, paſſed unſuſpected through the quarters of Vizeramrauze, and gained the neighbouring thickets; where they remained the two ſucceeding days, watching until the buſtle of the camp had ſubſided; when two of them quitted their retreat, and having by their language again deceived thoſe by whom they were queſtioned, got near the tent of Vizeramrauze; then creeping on the ground they paſſed under the back part, and entering the tent found him lying on his bed, alone, and aſleep. Vizeramrauze was extremely corpulent, inſomuch that he could ſcarcely rear himſelf from his ſeat without aſſiſtance: the two men, reſtraining their very breath, ſtruck in the ſame inſtant with their poignards at his heart; the firſt groan brought in a centinel, who fired, but miſſed; more immediately thronged in, but the murderers, heedleſs of themſelves, cried out, pointing to the body, "Look here! We are ſatisfied." They were inſtantly ſhot by the croud, and mangled after they had fallen; but had ſtabbed Vizeram-

1757. December. January.

rauze in 32 places. Had they failed, the other two remaining in the foreſt were bound by the ſame oath to perform the deed, or periſh in the attempt.

The army haſtened to quit this tragic ground. They proceeded through the hills to the north, ſummoning the tributes of a variety of polygars, who, terrified by the fate of Bobilee, paid without reſiſtance; nor did they meet any oppoſition, until they arrived at the diſtricts of Gumſeer. This country is much more extenſive than that of any other of the antient Polygars; it commences about 40 miles to the North-weſt of Ganjam, extending about 50 miles in that direction, and 20 in breadth; it is even more impenetrable than the country of Bobilee, its foreſts conſiſting entirely of bamboes, which grow cloſer, and reſiſt the axe and fire better than any other vegetation; relying on which, the inhabitants do not think it neceſſary to erect redoubts for the defence of their paths, but obſtruct them with frequent and temporary barriers of bamboes, wrought in a variety of entanglements. The polygar of Gumſeer refuſed his tribute, of which the arrears amounted to 180,000 rupees; and Mr. Buſſy, intending for other views to remain awhile in the northermoſt parts of the Chicacole province, reſolved to employ ſome of the time in reducing this country. Day by day the troops were employed with exceſſive toil and fatigue in rooting up, cutting down, and endeavouring to burn a way through the foreſt. The whole diſtrict is eſteemed one of the hotteſt regions of Indoſtan, and is peculiarly ſubject to ſtrokes of the ſun; by which ſeven Europeans were in one day killed; ſeveral barriers were forced, or paſt, and the Polygar, beginning to think himſelf in danger, made propoſals, which Mr. Buſſy was equally willing to accept, having loſt 30 Europeans, and a much greater number of Sepoys, in the little progreſs which the army had made; this accommodation was concluded in the middle of April.

Some time before, Mr. Buſſy had received letters from Surajah Doulah, the nabob of Bengal, requeſting his aſſiſtance to expel their common enemy, the Engliſh, out of that province; the Nabob offered to defray all the expences of the French army, and promiſed

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further explanations: which Mr. Buſſy ſuppoſed would be brought by ſome principal officer of his court, furniſhed with the means of conducting the army through the province of Orixa; in which expectation he reſolved to remain near the frontiers of this province, and the army marched from Gumſeer to Ganjam, which is the laſt town in Chicacole. It is a ſea-port much frequented by coaſting veſſels, and the French had at this time a factory there: the army remained in the neighbourhood until the 10th of May, but, inſtead of further overtures from Surajah Dowlah, received intelligence, that the Engliſh had taken the French ſettlement of Chandernagore; which convincing Mr. Buſſy of the imbecillity of the Nabob, who had ſuffered them to gain ſuch an advantage in his country, he relinquiſhed all ideas of further connexion with him; but reſolved immediately to make retaliation on the Engliſh ſettlements in the northern provinces. 1757. December. April. May.

In conſequence of his orders the Europeans he had left in garriſon at Rajahmundrum, when joined by more from Maſulipatam, marched againſt the factories of Madapollam, Bandermalanka, and Ingeram, which ſtand near the ſea on three different arms of the Godaveri. The natives here weave excellent cloths at cheap rates, and the three factories annually furniſhed 700 bales for the Company's market in England. Ingeram only had ſoldiers, and only 20, and all the three factories ſurrendered on the firſt requiſition. The reduction of Vizagapatam, as being nearer, Mr. Buſſy reſerved to himſelf; but being ſure of his prize, remained in the city of Chicacole until he had ſettled the affairs of this government. On the 24th of June the van of his army appeared before Vizagapatam. A river coming from the north and turning ſhort eaſtward to the ſea, forms an arm of land, a mile and half in length: and 600 yards in breadth. Nearly in the middle of this ground ſtands the fort, of which the conſtruction by repeated miſtakes was become ſo abſurd, that it was much leſs defenſible than many of the ancient barons' caſtles of Europe. The face towards the river was choaked by houſes. A whole town lay within 300 yards to the north, a village at the ſame diſtance to the ſouth, and ſeveral buildings on each of theſe ſides ſtood much nearer the walls; June.

1757. December. June.

walls; towards the ſea, the eſplanade was clear, excepting a ſaluting battery, where a lodgement might be eaſily made; after many injudicious additions of works round the fort, which only made it worſe, it was found neceſſary to throw up an entrenchment to the north, beyond the town, in the ſhoulder of the peninſula, quite acroſs from the river to the ſea, with a battery at each extremity, and another on a hillock near the center, but this was commanded by a ſand-hill directly oppoſite, and within point-blank. The acceſs acroſs the river from the ſouth, was ſufficiently ſecured by batteries, which commanded not only the paſſage, but the entrance of the river itſelf, through which all embarkations from the ſea muſt gain the ſhore, as the ſurf prevents even a boat from landing on the beach: indeed the whole ſcheme of the defences ſeemed to have been calculated only to oppoſe the attempts of pirates and polygars. The garriſon conſiſted of 150 excellent Europeans, and 300 Sepoys; the Engliſh families in the town were 50 perſons. On the ſame day that the van of Mr. Buſſy's army appeared in ſight, the Company's ſhip Marlborough anchored in the road, on board of which was the chief engineer of Madraſs, proceeding to Bengal. He landed, and having the next morning reviewed the works, with Captain Charles Campbell, who commanded the troops, both gave their opinion that the extent could not be defended, even with a much greater force; and adviſed that all the Europeans ſhould be immediately embarked, and the Sepoys, with two or three officers, left to make the beſt capitulation they could; but all the boat and fiſhermen had deſerted in the night, and the wind blew ſo ſtrong from the ſea, that none but thoſe accuſtomed could manage the boats over the bar, which that of the Marlborough carrying back the engineer, experienced, being twice overſet and a man drowned before ſhe got out. At noon, cannon appeared on the ſand hill; ſoon after the main body of the enemy, and a ſummons to ſurrender; after two or three meſſages, the capitulation was ſigned at 11 at night. All the Europeans, whether troops or inhabitants, were to be priſoners of war; the Sepoys and natives free to go where they liked; the Company's effects, capture; individuals, Mr. Buſſy ſaid, ſhould have no reaſon

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to complain: he kept his word with the utmoſt liberality, reſigning without diſcuſſion whatſoever property any one claimed as his own. The Marlborough having anchored at the Dutch factory of Bimlapatam, 12 miles to the northward, he permitted the chief, Mr. Percival, Captain Campbell, and ſeveral others, to proceed in her to Bengal. 1757. December.

From Vizagapatam, the army proceeded to Rajahmundrum, where they remained ſome time, and then took the field, and advanced again to the northward, to awe the tributaries who ſhewed any tendency to diſobedience; but were not obliged to exerciſe any hoſtilities of conſequence. Thus ended the year 1757, in the northern provinces: during which, the abſence of Mr. Buſſy from the court of Salabadjing, gave his enemies the opportunity they wiſhed, of taking meaſures to weaken the future effects of his influence over that prince, in the adminiſtration of his government.

Nizamally and Baſſalut Jung were the two brothers of Salabadjing, who, as well as himſelf, were priſoners in the camp of Murzafajing, when the death of this prince in Cudapah, with the influence of Mr. Buſſy in his army, raiſed Salabadjing to the throne of the Decan. The early ſagacity of Mr. Buſſy then foreſaw, that the two brothers would be made the enſigns of faction and revolt, if they were admitted to any participation in the councils of the government; ſince by their birth, their employments, if any, muſt be great. He therefore adviſed Salabadjing to allow them incomes ſufficient for all indulgencies, but to give them no appointments of truſt and power, and to oblige them, under pretence of diſtinction, to accompany him whereſoever he moved. In this reſtraint, tempered by all exterior attentions, they continued, and ſeemed ſatisfied, until the open rupture between Mr. Buſſy and Salabadjing's adminiſtration at Sanore; when Shanavaze Khan reſolved to raiſe them into public importance, as his own future patrons, with the very views, of which the apprehenſion had led Mr. Buſſy to prevent their promotion. Balazerow was, as we have ſeen, encamped at that time before Sanore; to whom Shanavaze Khan communicated his intention, ſuppreſſing the motive, and requeſted him to urge the advice to Salabadjing,

1757. December. with the document of his own example, who always employed his brothers, or his ſon, in the moſt important expeditions, which he could not attend himſelf. Balagerow knew that his own policy could not be the rule of a different ſtate, and weaker underſtanding; but ſaw the views of Shanavaze Khan, and wiſhing for the very diviſions they would create in the adminiſtration of the Decan, gave the advice; and Salabadjing, always eaſily led, appointed Nizamally, the elder of the two brothers, to the government of Berar, the moſt extenſive in the empire, but of which more than half had been diſmembered by the conqueſts of the Morattoe Janogee; and to Baſſalut Jung he gave the country of Adoni, which lies ſouth of the Kriſtna and north of Myſore; Baſſalut Jung went from Sanore to his government, but Nizamally not until after the reconciliation of Charmaul.

The brothers being then eſtabliſhed, Mr. Buſſy could do no better than appear indifferent to the arrangements he could not reverſe without renewing the immediate effect of unappeaſed animoſities, before he was in a ſtate to encounter them. He therefore went away, as we have ſeen in November, to the ceded provinces, as the moſt certain means of providing money, without umbrage, for future contingencies. On the 17th of December, Salabadjing began his intended march from Golcondah to Aurengabad. The army conſiſted of 10,000 horſe, and 15,000 foot, with the French detachment of 200 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, whom Shanavaze Khan could find no pretence to prevent from accompanying Salabadjing. They arrived at Beder in the beginning of January, when Balagerow was taking the field at Poni. And Shanavaze Khan deſiring to gain his concurrence to the deſigns he had formed, reſolved to loiter in this part of the country, hoping that the approach of Balagerow might give opportunities of an interview between them. He accordingly led the army againſt a conſiderable Rajah named Chunderſain, whoſe territory lay near Calberga, 40 miles to the ſouth of Beder, and whilſt hoſtilities were carrying on againſt the Rajah; he ſummoned Baſſault Jung to join the ſtandard of the Subahſhips with the forces from his government of Adoni; which added another delay until

January.

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their arrival. But advices being received that Balagerow was marching ſtreight to the ſouth, and intended to croſs the Kriſtna, the Subah's army renewed their march to the norward, when in the beginning of February news arrived, that the Affghans had taken Delhi, that a large detachment of their army were plundering Agra, and that parties from this detachment were on the road to Brampour; which, from ſome concluſions of which we are ignorant, determined the Subah's council to proceed no farther to the north, whilſt the Pitans were ſuppoſed to have any intentions of advancing to the ſouth; ſo that they did not approach Aurungabad until the beginning of May. In this interval Seid Laſcar Khan, who had been Duan of the Decan, and had given the nothern maritime provinces to the French, died at Aurengabad; his treaſures were reported to be great, and with all his effects reverted, according to the inſtitutions of the government, to the ſovereign; but they were depoſited in the fortreſs of Doltabad, of which the governor was his near relation, and had always been obſequious to his will. 1757. December. *May.*

This place is called, and deemed impregnable, ſtanding on the ſummit of a mountain, which is ſurrounded with two other incloſures, of which that on the plain contains a large town: notwithſtanding the neceſſity of communication to admit troops and proviſions, each has its particular governor: but the two lower forts are ſo overtowered by the upper, that they rarely reſiſt the will of the governor there, who, until the late confuſions of the empire, was always eſpecially appointed by the Great Mogul.

Shanavaze Khan had ſucceeded Seid Laſcar in the office of Duan, of which one of the moſt beneficial duties is to take poſſeſſion for the emperor of the eſtates of all who die, holding, or having held, any office in the government: he therefore proceeded ſeveral days before the army, with a large detachment and ſome artillery, and ſummoned all the forts; the loweſt after a ſlight reſiſtance, and much parley, ſurrendered on the third day: the governors of the two others being leagued together held out a month; but having neglected to lay-in a ſtock of proviſions, and being ſurrounded by the whole of Salabadjing's army, they at length yielded to money;

1757. December. and Shanavaze Khan immediately changed the garriſons, and placed one of his own dependants in the command of all the forts, with the unwilling compliance of Salabadjing, and the approbation of the Emperor's Duan, Mahomed Huſſein, whom Shanavaze Khan had lately gained over to his views. He found in the fort a great treaſure belonging to Seid Laſcar Khan, of which 700,000 rupees were publickly avowed, and more ſuſpected. In the end of September a body of 6000 Morattoes from Poni, under the command of Vizvazrow, the eldeſt ſon of Balagerow, arrived near Aurengabad, with pretenſions of which we are ignorant: their march had been expected, and gave Shanavaze Khan a pretence to call up Nizamally from Berar with the troops of his government, who arrived at the ſame time as Vizvazrow; the Morattoe chiefs dependant on the Subahſhip, and ſeveral others, had been likewiſe ſummoned and were come up, ſo that the whole force under the ſtandard of the Subah was near 40,000 horſe, beſides the foot. The Morattoes, notwithſtanding their inferiority, proceeded to hoſtilities, but confined them to ſkirmiſhes, in which they were always repulſed by the artillery of the French detachment; nevertheleſs Nizamally aſſumed the merit of theſe ſucceſſes, and working at the ſame time by his emiſſaries amongſt Salabadjing's troops, inſtigated them to clamour, and inſult him in his palace for the arrears of their pay, of which 22 months were due. During this tumult Shanavaze Khan, as if afraid of the reſentment of Salabadjing, took refuge in the fort of Doltabad.

Salabadjing was terrified, without money, and, by the means of Shanavaze Khan, without credit; and Nizamally taking the advantage he had prepared, profered to interfere and appeaſe the troops, provided he was intruſted, whilſt neceſſary, with the adminiſtration of the government, and the diſpoſal of the great ſeal of the Subahſhip. This inſtrument ratifies all treaties, confirms all governments, authenticates all grants and boons of conſequence, and warrants all aſſignments of the revenue: it therefore always remains at leaſt in the dwelling of the prince, and generally under his own eye, excepting at Delhi, where it is uſually confided to the Vizier. Salabadjing, being without reſource, conſented; and Nizamally immediately became

came inveſted with ſovereign power, but left the appearances to Salabadjing, whom he affected to conſult; and abrogated none of his indulgencies, which this prince was naturally inclined to prefer to the cares of his ſtate. Nizamally immediately gave additional honours and jaghires to his brother Baſſaulet Jung, and with a ſubtle affectation of indifference concerning the ſeal, committed it to his care. Both the next day introduced Shanavaze Khan to Salabadjing, who received him with the exterior ceremonials of good-will and favour. The officer who commanded the French detachment had neither experience nor force ſufficient to counteract the progreſs of this plot; but redoubled his attention in guarding the perſon of Salabadjing, which perhaps ſaved his life. It was the general opinion that the expedition of the Morratoes with Vizvazrow had been concerted by Shanavaze Khan, as the leading means of accompliſhing this revolution. 1757. December.

It happened in the middle of December; Mr. Buſſy received intelligence of it at Rajahmundrum in the beginning of January, and immediately began his march, with all his force, to releaſe Salabadjing from theſe bonds. We ſhall now return to the affairs of Bengal.

War of BENGAL.

THE firſt news of the French ſquadron was brought to Calcutta on the 17th of September, by the Revenge, which had eſcaped from them on the 8th, in the road of Fort St. David. Other advices followed, with information of the troops they had brought, and of the expectations at Pondicherry of a much greater force in the beginning of the enſuing year; in conſequence of which the preſidency of Madraſs repeated with much ſollicitude the requeſt they had often made, that the troops with Clive might be immediately returned to the coaſt: but they could not now be ſent away, without riſquing the accompliſhment of the treaties with Meer Jaffier, if he ſhould require their ſervice in the field; and the loſs of Calcutta itſelf, if a French force ſhould arrive in the river, whilſt they were employed in a diſtant part of the Nabob's dominions. This apprehenſion rendered the French priſoners, and even their vagabonds in the province an object of ſolicitude. The priſoners amounted to 200, of whom

1757. September. 50 being men of better condition, were not confined. The party which ſerved with Sinfray at the battle of Plaſſy had eſcaped into the diſtricts of Berbohin, where the timidity of the natives ſuffered them to remain without moleſtation; and other ſtragglers from various parts had increaſed the number to 60 Europeans. Thirty had gone away in boats from the French factory at Dacca, under the conduct of the chief, Mr. Courtin, and proceeding along the rivers had entrenched themſelves near the mountains in the northern part of the diſtrict of Rungpore, which adjoins on the weſt to Purneah. It was ſuſpected that ſome of the priſoners, who were at large, were correſponding, not only with both theſe parties, but alſo with Mr. Law's in Oude, and with the army of Mr. Buſſy in Chicacole. It was therefore reſolved to ſend away all of the higher ſort to Pondicherry; October. and in the beginning of October, 34, of whom two were Jeſuits, were embarked in a ſhip hired for the purpoſe, and called the Reſtitution. From reliance on their parole the ſhip was manned, as uſual, by laſcars, or mariners of the country, with only three Engliſhmen to command them. As ſoon as they were at ſea, the Frenchmen, as they eaſily might, overpowered the crew, and carried the ſhip to Maſulipatam, where they declared themſelves free, and the ſhip a lawful prize.

Before Colonel Clive left Muxadavad, the Nabob had ſummoned Ramramſing, the Rajah of Midnapore, who was head of the Spies, to come there, in order to ſettle the accounts of his diſtricts, on which, as uſual, a conſiderable balance ſtood due from him in the books of the treaſury. Ramramſing had always been in cloſe connexion with Roydoolub, who, to remove ſuſpicions, adviſed him, at leaſt openly, to obey; but Ramramſing ſent his brother and nephew, whom the Nabob immediately put into priſon; and prevented the diſapprobation of Clive, by repreſenting, what was true, that Ramramſing had been the enemy of the Engliſh, having carried on for Surajah Doulah the correſpondence with Mr. Buſſy and Mr. Law; and that he had forwarded whatſoever Frenchmen had eſcaped to the ſouth, through Orixa to Chicacole. Roydoolub had no doubt that this proceeding of the Nabob's was a preparation for his

his deſigns againſt himſelf, but concealed his perſuaſion, and wiſely refrained from claiming the Engliſh guarantee until the danger ſhould come nearer. Theſe coincidences prevented Clive from entertaining any ſuſpicions of the real motives of Jaffier's conduct towards Ramramſing, before he returned to Calcutta; but Ramramſing, as ſoon as he heard of the confinement of his brother and nephew, aſſembled his force, which conſiſted of 2000 horſe and 5000 foot, and wrote to Colonel Clive, that if he were attacked he ſhould ſeek refuge wherever it was to be found; which his country well afforded by the jungles or thickets with which it is covered, and the mountains to which it adjoins. He however proffered to pay a lack of rupees as a preſent to Meer Jaffier, and even to make his obeiſance to him in perſon, if Clive would warrant his ſafety. Clive immediately recommended the reconciliation to the Nabob, who at the ſame time received intelligence, that the people of Purneah, under the command of Ogul Sing the Gentoo, whom Surajah Dowlah had appointed to govern this province after the defeat and death of his couſin Seid Hamed, had taken up arms, and proclaimed a brother of Seid Mahomed, on hearing that the Nabob had given the government to his relation Coddum Huſſein, whom they dreaded for his character of rapaciouſneſs and tyranny. 1757. October.

Both theſe inſurrections ariſing under the ſtandard of Gentoos, drove the Nabob from all the diſſimulation, with which he had intended to conceal his purpoſes, until he had cut off Roydoolub, and the other principal heads of the nation; and in his vexation he openly, perhaps not unjuſtly, imputed both rebellions to the practices of Roydoolub. He immediately commanded 6000 horſe and foot to march with Coddum Huſſein to Purneah, and 500 horſe, with Cojee Hoddee to Midnapore: Both diviſions were to ſet out on the 6th of October, and Cojee Haddee proceeded; but the troops appointed to Coddum Huſſein, abetted by their officers, refuſed to move until they had received their arrears, and clamoured other diſcontents. The city was in agitation. Roydoolub aſſembled his force, and would no longer viſit the Nabob; who a few days

1757. October. after received intelligence from Colonel Clive, to whom it had been ſent by an expreſs-boat from the Engliſh reſident at Chuprah, ſignifying that "his ſpies had met meſſengers on the road, who ſaid, that "they had delivered letters from the widow of Allaverdy to Ram-"narain, the governor of Behar, and were carrying others to Sujah "Dowlah the Nabob of Oude, requeſting him to march, and join "Ramnarain againſt Meer Jaffier." This, if true, was the moſt powerful confederacy which Jaffier could have to fear; and bore ſtrong marks of originating from Roydoolub, from his attachment and reſpect to Allaverdy's widow, which he openly continued, notwithſtanding the elevation of Jaffier. Clive foreſeeing the animoſity which the intelligence would occaſion, ſuppreſſed his own ſuſpicions; but ordered the troops at Coſſimbuzar to join the Nabob on the firſt call; and promiſed to march himſelf, if neceſſary, with the main body from Calcutta and Chandernagore. Theſe profers abated the tumult of the Nabob's troops; and the mediation of Mr. Watts produced an interview between the Nabob and Roydoolub, on the 17th of October, when each ſwore oblivion of former diſtruſts, and future friendſhip; and upon this apparent reconciliation, the Nabob ordered his whole army to aſſemble on the plains of Geriah, ſix miles from the city.

A few days after, a freſh inſurrection appeared in another part of the province. The two ſons of the Nabob Suffraze Khan, whom Allaverdy had ſpared when their father fell, defending his diadem, remained on the acceſſion of Jaffier in the city of Dacca, where they had lived 16 years, without ſhewing either abilities or inclination to raiſe diſturbances. Nevertheleſs they immediately became objects of ſuſpicion to Jaffier, who in the firſt days of his government brought back the elder Haſſizally Chan to Muxadavad: there ſeemed little occaſion to fear him, for his letter to Clive on this occaſion was written with the humility of a beggar: but the other, Ammannee Chan, either from nature or deſpair, exerted more reſolution. The governor ſent to Dacca by Meer Jaffier came very poor; and ſo much money of the revenues had been drawn to Muxadavad, that the force he kept up even in the fort did not exceed 200 men, who were ill paid, and

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the troops of the diſtricts were, as uſual, a rabble fit only to diſtrain upon the unarmed and timorous inhabitants; this weakneſs of the government, and the attachment of a few friends, encouraged Ammannee Chan to tamper with a part of the garriſon in the fort, and they agreed to ſeize the governor, when Ammannee Chan was to declare himſelf: the day fixed for the execution was the 22d of October; but two days before, one of the conſpirators revealed the ſecret to the governor, who immediately ſeized Ammannee Chan with ſeveral of his adherents; and aſked aſſiſtance of the Engliſh factory, who ſent 60 buxeries, which was half their force, and wrote to Calcutta for a company of ſepoys, which were immediately detached, and marched acroſs the country. This conſpiracy could not be imputed to Roydoolub, but it increaſed the perplexities of Jaffier. 1757. October.

Of the troops which were ordered to march with Coddam Huſſein, only 3000 had moved, who were waiting at Rajahmahal for the reſt, and their arrears. Three months pay were due to the whole army, of which not leſs than 10,000 men, horſe and foot, were under the immediate command of Roydoolub, who had influence with the commanders of many more; and notwithſtanding the late oaths of reconciliation, kept his houſe under pretence of ſickneſs, nor would ſuffer any of his troops to march from the city. Theſe examples, and perhaps his inſtigation, encouraged the Nabob's troops, to refuſe likewiſe, unleſs they were paid in full. The Nabob diſtributed ſome money, and, as another means to recall their obedience, pitched his tent and diſplayed his ſtandard in the camp, and went to reſide there on the 7th of November, waiting for the main body with Clive. He left his ſon Meerum to command in the city. November.

Meerum, as ſoon as his father was gone, ſpread the report of advices he pretended to have received from Patna and Delhi. The Nabob's relations at Patna gave information, that Ramnarain the governor had encamped to the weſt of the city with his whole force, 12,000 men; that Sujah Doulah, the ſubah of Oude, had likewiſe taken the field with his army from Lucknow, together with Mr. Law's

1757. November. Law's party of Europeans, and intended, in conjunction with Ramnarain, to march into Bengal. The letters from Delhi ſaid, the miniſtry there diſapproved of the acceſſion of Jaffier to the Nabobſhip; that Mirza Mundee, the ſon of Surajah Dowlah's younger brother, an infant, ought to have been proclaimed, and that Roydoolub had propoſed he ſhould be appointed by the Mogul, with aſſurances that he ſhould be able to carry the nomination into execution with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh. Many probabilities ſtood againſt the authenticity of the intelligence from Patna, and the advices from Delhi bore ſtill ſtronger marks of fiction. On the 10th in the morning the whole city was in conſternation, and the troops in their different quarters in tumult. A band of ruffians ſent by Meerum had in the night entered the palace of Allaverdy's widow, with whom lived the widow of Zaindee Hamed, and her infant grandſon Mirza Mundee. They murdered the child, and gave out that they had likewiſe ſlain the two mothers. In the morning the three biers were carried publickly to burial, amidſt the ſilent grief and abhorrence of the people; for the two women, excluſive of the high condition from which they had fallen by the death of Surajah Dowlah, were the moſt reſpectable of their ſex for their virtues and the nobility of their ſentiments. The cauſe was diſbelieved. Roydoolub aſſerted that all the accuſations againſt himſelf were the inventions of his enemies. The Engliſh troops at Coſſimbuzar turned out to keep the peace, and preſerved it. On the 13th Scrafton viſited and reproached Meerum, who, amongſt other vindications, ſtill preſerving a ſecret, ſaid, "What ſhall not I kill an old woman who goes "about in her dooley to ſtir up the Jemautdars againſt my father?" A few days after it was diſcovered that the two women had not been murdered, but had been taken out of the palace, and put into boats, which ſet off immediately for Dacca; and their pretended biers were exhibited, in order to prevent any interruption to the removal of their perſons.

Nevertheleſs, the death of the child left deteſtation ſufficient to extort farther apologies. The Nabob declared, that he neither commanded nor even had any knowledge of the deed, until it was perpetrated

petrated, and both he and his ſon avowed that the intelligence from Delhi was communicated by the Seats. The Seats poſitively denied the aſſertion; on which a new reconciliation was propoſed with Roydoolub, who, accompanied by Scrafton, viſited Meerum on the 17th, and oaths of friendſhip and confidence were again renewed; and Roydoolub ſent the greateſt part of his troops to the camp. The Nabob, receiving no reproaches from Scrafton, thought all reſentments ſufficiently quieted, at leaſt for a while, and marched away from the plains of Gheria on the 17th, in order to oblige the detachment loitering at Rajahmahal to croſs the Ganges, and attack the rebels, in Purneah. 1757. November.

The rainy ſeaſon in the lower parts of the country had this year been leſs unhealthy than uſual; and only 40 men had died of the Engliſh troops quartered at Chandernagore and Calcutta; but the intemperance produced by the diſtribution of the prize-money of Plaſſy, had ſpread ſuch ſickneſs, after the rains ceaſed in September, that two thirds of the rank and file were in the hoſpital at the end of October. Their recovery retarded the departure of the whole until the 17th of November, when they embarked and proceeded from Chandernagore.

In this interval Colonel Clive had prevailed upon Ramranſing to come to him from Midnapore. To avoid the Nabob's troops with Coja Haddee, who, at Clive's requeſt, were halting at Burdawan, he embarked at Piply with a party of European ſoldiers, which had been ſent thither to eſcort him to Chandernagore; from whence he proceeded with the army to Muxadavad. The Rajah of Berboin, on hearing that the Engliſh troops were preparing to take the field, ſent parties to ſurround and ſeize the Frenchmen with Sinfray; but they got warning of his intentions, and of 60, 36 eſcaped. The other 24 were made priſoners, and conducted to Coſſimbuzar, and from thence ſent to Calcutta. Four of them were agents of the French company, who had been taken and had given their parole at Chandernagore.

1757. November. The troops with Clive arrived at Muxadavad on the 25th of November. Meerum, dreading his reſentment for the murder of the infant Mirza Mundee, had releaſed the brother and nephew of Ramramſing from their impriſonment before his arrival, and received Ramranſing himſelf, whom Clive introduced to him with much courteſy; to Clive he demeaned himſelf with every ſimulation of humility. Roydoolub, when preſſed by Clive to march with him, continued his pretext of ſickneſs, adding the better plea of the publick buſineſs, which required his preſence for ſome days longer in the city; but his apprehenſions of the Nabob and Meerum were at this time encreaſed by new ſuſpicions, which they pretended to entertain of him.

Mirza Sallee, the renter of the province of Orixa to the Morratoe Janogee, having been deficient in his payments and accounts, came to Muxadavad a little before the death of Surajah Dowlah, to whom he propoſed ſome project for reſtoring that province to the government of Bengal. A Morratoe named Subut then obtained the government from Janogee, and he likewiſe had lately been at Muxadavad, where he contracted a connexion, ſuppoſed to be more intimate than it was, with Roydoolub: he was at this time at Jonagee's court, but ſent forward his agent, named Chemneſaw, to manage, until he himſelf ſhould come. Chemneſaw arrived at Cutteck in the beginning of November, and received the viſit of the Engliſh reſident there with much inſolence, and his attendants talked publickly that a body of 6000 Morratoes were coming with Subut himſelf, who intended to march into Midnapore, and demand of Meer Jaffier the ceſſion of all that country to the ſouth of the river Piply, which anciently uſed to be rated as a part of Orixa. Theſe diſcourſes induced the Engliſh reſident, and gave pretence to the friends of Meer Sallee, to repreſent Subut and Roydoolub as engaged with one other, Roydoolub to give the Morratoe the country he wanted, and the Morratoe to aſſiſt Roydoolub in time of need againſt Meer Jaffier. Meerum pretended to believe the plot; but Clive gave no credit to the imputation, and ſeeing that Roydoolub's miſtruſt of the Nabob was the principal cauſe of his unwillingneſs

neſs to be near him, acquieſced to the delay he required, and promiſed to effect an entire reconciliation between them. 1757. November.

On the 30th Clive marched from the city, taking all the Europeans at Coſſimbuzar. They were 250, and not 10 of them ill, having been preſerved by the excellence of the climate here from the effects even of equal intemperance with thoſe below, of whom more than 100 of thoſe which came with Clive were unable to proceed any farther, and were left to garriſon the factory. The Sepoys, in whatſoever quarters, had been preſerved by the uſual regularity of their lives from all extraordinary illneſs. The whole force was 550 Europeans, including the artillery-men, and 1500 Sepoys. On the 3d of December they arrived at Rajahmahal, and December. encamped within half a league of the Nabob's army. He viſited Colonel Clive the next day, when the whole line was drawn out to receive him, and performed their exerciſe and ſome evolutions, which he admired, and ordered 10,000 rupees to be diſtributed amongſt the ſoldiers.

Coddum Huſſein, with 2000 horſe and 5000 foot, had ſome days before croſſed the Ganges oppoſite to Rajahmahal, where a river coming from the north leads into the midſt of the Purneah country. The rebels, more diſpirited by the approach of the Engliſh troops, than the appearance of the Nabob's, quitted their intrenchments, which were ſtrong, and diſperſed before they were attacked. Soon after Ogulſing was taken priſoner, on which all the other officers either ſubmitted or fled the country; and in leſs than a fortnight, by the 9th of December, Coddum Huſſein was in quiet poſſeſſion of the government.

The extinction of this rebellion, the ſubmiſſion of Ramramſing, and no appearance of the renewal of diſturbance at Dacca, left the Nabob without any farther apprehenſions for the tranquillity of Bengal, and determined him to march immediately to Patna, fully bent on removing Ramnarain, who was ſtill ſtanding on his guard, but had been diſappointed in his expectations, if he ever entertained any, of being joined by Sujah Dowlah, whom his own affairs detained in his own country. Clive, ſeeing the time he had waited for, re-

1757. December. fuſed to accompany the Nabob to Patna, before all that remained to be paid and ſettled of his agreements with the Engliſh ſhould be diſcharged and fulfilled. In aggravation of this dilemma, it was impoſſible to ſatisfy the Engliſh claims immediately, without the aſſiſtance of Roydoolub, through whoſe office, as duan, all money, bills, and patents, muſt paſs; and on this ground Clive repreſented to the Nabob the abſurdity of their variance, and propoſed a ſerious reconciliation, of which he himſelf would be the guarantee. The neceſſity of marching to Patna prevailed, and the Nabob, at leaſt in appearance, acquieſced; and on the notice, Roydoolub recovered, left the city, and arrived in the camp on the 23d of the month. He was the next day introduced by Mr. Watts to the Nabob, who received him with every demonſtration of cordiality. On the 30th, the Nabob, Roydoolub, and Omarbeg, came to the tent of Clive, and Mr. Watts aſſiſted at the conference. Before other buſineſs, the Nabob and Roydoolub made a ſolemn renunciation of all their former ſuſpicions and animoſity. On the ſtate of the account of the treaty monies, there was now due near twenty-three lacks of rupees. Orders on the treaſury at Muxadavad were ſigned for the immediate payment of 12 and a half lacks, and reſcripts given on Omarbeg, as Phouſdar of Hughly, and on the Rajahs of Burdwan and Kiſnagur, for the remaining half of the 23 lacks. Theſe reſcripts are called tuncaws, and entitle the holder to receive to the amount from the treaſuries of the diſtricts on which they are given, as the revenues come in. Tuncaws were likewiſe given on the ſame diſtricts for the next payment, amounting to 19 lacks, which would fall due in the enſuing April. The Nabob ordered Roydoolub to iſſue under the ſeals of the Nabobſhip and Duanny the patents empowering the company to take poſſeſſion of the ceded lands ſouth of Calcutta, with the authority of Zemindarry; which, being feudal lordſhip of land, does not extend to life; but to impriſonment on any occaſion, and to the ſcourge, even for the evaſion of debt, eſpecially to the government: but the Nabob reſerved to himſelf the annual ſum of 222,958 rupees ariſing on theſe lands, and allowed by the Mogul government, as on many others

others in the province, as a jaghire, or penſion for his expences without account. All theſe points were adjuſted without diſpute, or even the appearance of diſſenſion; but it was ſtill more neceſſary to ſettle the object of the preſent expedition. The Nabob's intention to remove Ramnarain, in order to give the government of Patna to one or other of his more immediate dependants, would inevitably be productive of long diſturbance and confuſion; for it could not be doubted that Ramnarain, knowing the Nabob's enmity to him, would, on the approach of the army, offer any terms to Sujah Dowlah for his aſſiſtance, unleſs prevented by aſſurances he could rely on, that it was not intended to diſplace him. Obnoxious as Clive knew the propoſal would be, he made it; adding to the obvious arguments, the neceſſity to which the Engliſh troops might at any time during the campaign be reduced, by the arrival of a French force in the river, to return on ſudden warning to defend Calcutta; when the Nabob and his army might be left fighting with their own enemies in Behar. He then, as before in the caſe of Ramramſing and Roydoolub, offered his mediation if neceſſary, promiſing to preſerve every right of the Nabob's demands and authority. The Nabob again having no valid alternative to propoſe, conſented that Clive ſhould write a letter to Ramnarain, adviſing him to come and pay his reſpects to the Nabob on the road; and aſſuring him of ſafety and favour. All theſe material points being ſettled, it was reſolved to march forward without delay. Thus ended the conference with ſeeming amity, but real grudge in the Nabob to Roydoolub and Clive, and not without ſuſpicions in them of him. 1757. December.

On the 2d of January, three days after the conference, the army began to move from Rajahmahal. At the Nabob's requeſt the Engliſh led the van. Roydoolub, with his, amounting to 10000 men, and the artillery of the government, followed next; and the Nabob with the main body, amounting to 40000, brought up the rear: each had their fleet of boats; and for the convenience of proviſions and encampment, as well as to prevent the occaſions of quarrel amongſt the reſpective ſoldieries, it was agreed that the three diviſions ſhould always make their halts at the diſtance of one day's march from each 1758. January.

1758. January. each other. They followed the ſame road as Major Coote had marched. The progreſs of the troops of the government was continually interrupted by halts to bring on their baggage and repair their artillery; and the Engliſh were obliged to wait, as the Nabob did not like they ſhould be far before him. On the 29th he received letters from Delhi, adviſing that the patents of his confirmation in the Nabobſhip had been made out, and titles granted to his ſon and ſeveral others of his family; and the Seats informed Colonel Clive, that he likewiſe was created a munſubdar or commander of 6000 horſe, with ſeveral names. All the advices hitherto received from Patna, reported Ramnarain to be taking meaſures for his defence, and that he had broken down the bridges on the road within 30 miles of Patna; but he had not then received the letter from Clive: as ſoon as it reached him, he wrote an anſwer, without any ſtipulation, or ſign of miſtruſt, that he ſhould proceed without delay to wait on Clive and the Nabob. Accordingly on the 22d he embarked in his boats, whilſt his retinue of cavalry marched along the road, and on the 25th viſited Clive. The next day he proceeded, accompanied by Mr. Watts, to the Nabob, who received him with the attentions uſually teſtified to his rank in the ſtate, and requeſted him to follow in the rear, in order to facilitate their communications on buſineſs; but in reality to mark his inferiority to the province. This intention eſcaped not the obſervation of the camp, but even produced reports that the Nabob had placed him there, out of the reach of ſuccour, in order to deſtroy him; and Clive himſelf, not receiving either letters or intelligence from him for ſeveral days, had the ſame ſuſpicions, and wrote for explanation to Omarbeg and Roydoolub; from whom, as well as Ramnarain, he received letters on the 3d of February. February, which ſatisfied him of the ſafety of Ramnarain's perſon, but did not remove his apprehenſions that the Nabob meant him ill in other reſpects. On the 4th the Engliſh troops halted at Jaffier Cawn's garden two miles from the Kelah or fort, which ſtands at the eaſt end of the city of Patna. Early the next morning, a large body of the Nabob's troops were perceived marching to the left, and paſſing beyond the Engliſh towards the city, and Clive received private

vate information that Coja Haddee, who commanded them, was ordered by the Nabob to ſuffer no troops, excepting his own diviſion, to enter the gates until the Nabob himſelf ſhould arrive there. This arrangement was intended to give a notion to the capital of the province, that the Engliſh troops were as ſubſervient to the Nabob as his own. Clive waited until Coja Haddee's diviſion were in poſſeſſion of the gate, and then marched up, demanding admittance. Coja Haddee being attached to Roydoolub, and knowing his reſpect and reliance on Clive, mentioned the general order he had received from the Nabob; but ſaid, that it could not be meant to extend to his friends the Engliſh, and admitted the troops with more pleaſure than reluctance. Clive, ſatisfied with having eſtabliſhed the point of honour, did not ſtop, but continued his march through the city to the Engliſh factory, which ſtands on the farther ſide, very near the weſtern gate. The next day, being the 6th, he received a letter from the Nabob, with inconſiſtent excuſes for the forced march of Cojee Haddee's diviſion, and requeſting Clive to encamp at Bankapoor, which is five miles beyond the Engliſh factory, where the company have a large garden. Clive had before determined to do ſo; and the troops proceeded thither immediately. The day after, another letter deſired him to move to Dinapoor, five miles farther, becauſe the Nabob himſelf intended to encamp at Bankapoor. This deſign of removing the Engliſh troops to ſuch a diſtance, and of keeping the whole of the Nabob's army between them and the city, raiſed ſuſpicions, which correſponded with other intelligence. Promiſes, delays, diſtreſſes, relief, were to be alternately employed, and bribes as the laſt reſource, to draw Clive to an acquieſcence to the Nabob's deſigns, which continued invariably to deprive Ramnarain of the government of Patna, and to confer it on his own brother Meer Coſſim, when the other offices and departments of the province would be ſhared amongſt the favourites and dependants of his former fortune. Roydoolub, who had always ſuſpected, was now convinced that ſuch were the Nabob's intentions, and, ſeeing his own deſtruction blended with Ramnarain's, united their councils, whatſoever might have been their former connexions, without reſerve.

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1758. February. Both by their emiſſaries, for they dared not write, and the order of encampment prevented viſits, explained their ideas of the Nabob to Clive, and artfully inſinuated dangerous intentions even againſt the Engliſh. Clive knew not what to apprehend, but did not entirely reject the opinion of treachery; and to prevent it, croſſed the whole of his army with the boats and ſtores into a large iſland in the Ganges, which lies oppoſite to Bankapoor, where they were ſeparated from immediate communication with the ſhore. He at the ſame time ſent Mr. Watts to the Nabob, to diſcover the meaning of his laſt requeſt, and to complain ſeriouſly of his conduct to Ramnarain, whom he had kept in the camp inſtead of permitting him to return with proper marks of dignity to the city, contrary to his promiſes at Rajahmahal. Mr. Watts perceived no ſymptoms of treachery in the Nabob, but likewiſe no willingneſs to conclude the buſineſs of Ramnarain, which he ſaid he ſhould defer until he ſaw colonel Clive. On the 12th, the Nabob came into the city; and Ramnarain likewiſe, but without any marks of authority. The Nabob kept his army on the eaſtern ſide, inſtead of encamping them, as he had propoſed at Bankapoor, to the weſt. On the 14th, Clive viſited him, and this was the firſt time they had met, ſince they parted at Rajahmahal. The Nabob imputed the delay of Ramnarain's appointment to Roydoolub, who had the accounts and arrangements to ſettle. It is probable that Roydoolub, finding Clive leſs impreſſed with reſentment againſt the Nabob than he wiſhed, thought this delay would not fail to exaſperate him; which the Nabob now turned on himſelf, and had well nigh made a quarrel between them, if Clive had not recollected the neceſſity of ſuſpecting the views of all, and of entering into none beyond what was conducive to the public welfare.

Much more time would probably have been waſted in the conflict of theſe intrigues, if news had not arrived from the weſtward, which renewed the former apprehenſions of the approach of Sujah Dowlah from Lucknow,* who was now to be accompanied by a great body of Morratoe horſe, and as before by the party of Europeans with Mr. Law, who were remaining under his protection and ſupport

port at Allahabad; and with theſe reports, arrived in the camp the Morratoe Subut, who, inſtead of proceeding directly to his government of Orixa, came from Nagore with a commiſſion from Jonagee and Balagerow, to demand the arrears of chout due to the Morratoe nations from the province of Bengal, which amounted to 24 lacks of rupees. The vicinity of an army of Morratoes at this time in the Doab, not only protected Subut from indignity, but obliged Meer Jaffier to ſuppreſs any manifeſtation of his former ſuſpicions of the union between him and Roydoolub; and the ſame dread rendered the Engliſh as neceſſary to him as when he took the field at Muxadavad; and on the 23d, he performed the ceremony of diſpoſing of the government of Patna, ſetting in full Durbar, attended by all his courtiers. A ſuit of dreſs with jewels on a golden plate was laid before him, which he ordered to be carried away immediately with an eſcort to his ſon Meerum at Muxadavad, whom he called Nabob of Patna. Then another ſuit of the ſame preſents, which he gave with his own hand to Ramnarain, pronouncing him deputy to Meerum in the Nabobſhip. The appointment of Meerum was merely nominal, not derogating from the authority of Ramnarain, which continued reſponſible to the Nabob alone, but rendering him liable to ſome additional preſents; and the bargain for Ramnarain's appointment had been ſettled at ſeven lacks of rupees, which were exacted under the pretext of a balance remaining due on the adjuſtment of the accounts of the province. Other ſums, unknown, but ſuppoſed not inconſiderable, were likewiſe collected by the Nabob; for the chiefs of all the diſtricts, as well Moors as Indians, were ſummoned, as uſual in ſuch viſitations, to pay homage, and none came empty-handed; and thoſe againſt whom were any real or fictitious cauſes of complaint, were ſeverely fined. Of theſe Comgar Cawn and Sunderſing, two petty rajahs in that part of the mountains which lie between the province of Behar and the diſtrict of Berboin in Bengal, had been fighting for three months, and only laid down their arms on the approach of the Nabob. Both were ſummoned to attend the Durbar. Comgar Cawn, who was moſt in fault, evaded; and Sunderſing would not come until he received aſ- 1758. February.

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ſurances from Clive of being treated with juſtice. Pulwanſing, another of theſe Indian chiefs, whoſe diſtricts lye at the s.w. extremity of the province amongſt the mountains along the banks of the Caramnaſſa, was a notorious plunderer, and had incurred the reſentment of Ramnarain: he likewiſe refuſed to appear until he had received the ſame ſecurity. Theſe attentions to the mediation of Clive grated the Nabob's mind, which returned to its former antipathies, on intelligence that neither the Morratoes nor Sujah Dowlah were likely to proſecute their intended project of invading Behar. Clive, nevertheleſs, did not relax the rein.

All the ſalt-petre provided by the European ſettlements in Bengal is made in the country on the other ſide of the Ganges above Patna. The farm was always monopolized, and had long been in the hands of Cojah Wazeed, the great merchant of Hughley. Diſputes had often riſen between his ſervants and thoſe of the Engliſh factory at Patna; and two months before they had come to blows, when two of the factory's ſervants were killed. This accident gave Clive the plea of aſking the Nabob to grant the farm to the Engliſh company, as the only means of preventing ſuch diſputes in future. He offered the higheſt terms at which the farm had ever been rated; but the Nabob knew, that he could not exact on any pretence from the company the additional preſents, which the renter, whilſt his ſubject, could not refuſe. This motive of his repugnance was, however, below his dignity to acknowledge, and after many objections he conſented, reſerving the receipt of 20,000 maunds, or 1,600,000 pounds weight a year, for his own uſe. The agents of the Dutch Eaſt-India company proteſted againſt the grant; which Clive anſwered by producing a letter, in which they had aſked the farm of Surajah Dowlah for themſelves. However it was agreed to ſupply them with the quantity they uſed to purchaſe.

The obtainment of this favour did not induce Clive to any remiſſion in the authentic demands. The troops were in the fourth month of the campaign, and only the pay of two, amounting to two lacks, had been ſupplied. Although the Rajahs of Burdwan and

and Kiſnagur had accepted the tuncaws given on their diſtricts, they had hitherto paid nothing; and Omarbeg, as Phouſdar of Hughly, declared that he had no means of ſatisfying any part of the 6,500,000 rupees charged on him, excepting by giving a quantity of ſalt, which when ſold might produce two lacks. On this, Clive wrote to Roydoolub that he ſhould ſend his troops to aſk their money of him, and ſignified to the Nabob that he might ſpare the Engliſh five out of the ſeven lacks he was to receive from Ramnarain. The Nabob replied, that this very ſum was appropriated to pay the Mogul's tribute at Delhi, but offered bills on Ramnarain for two lacks, payable at 50,000 rupees a month, which Clive was contented to receive. 1758. February.

The to and fro of theſe official diſcuſſions had brought the time to the 18th of March; and the Nabob, having now nothing to fear from foreign enemies before the end of the rainy ſeaſon in September, reſumed his firſt views of giving the government of Patna to Meer Coſſim, but, ſtill afraid to venture whilſt the Engliſh troops remained in Behar, reſolved to outſtay them, and became as anxious to ſend them away as he had been to bring them with him. Knowing their want of money, he thought the more he ſhould delay to ſupply it, and poſtpone their other buſineſs, the ſooner they themſelves would become deſirous of departing, to ſave expence to no purpoſe. March.

Clive, ſuſpecting this cunning, inſiſted that Roydoolub ſhould immediately give ſecurity for the deficiency of the Hughley tuncaws; but Roydoolub was on the point of making a viſit of devotion to Guyah, a town of great ſanctity and pilgrimage, ſituated at the foot of the mountains, 60 miles to the ſouth of Patna. He ſet out on the 19th of March, and Clive reſolved to remain until he returned: but on the firſt of April ſent forward the main body of the Engliſh troops on the road to Bengal, with orders to proceed ſlowly. They were augmented by 1000 Sepoys, who had been levied in the Bodgepore country, where the natives are much hardier than in Bengal, and even more than in any part of Behar. On the 7th, Roydoolub April.

1758. April. returned from Guyah, and by this time the Nabob had taken the reſolution of going to pay his devotions likewiſe, at a famous *durgar*, or tomb of a ſaint, near the town of Behar, which is ſituated 40 miles to the ſouth-eaſt of Patna: by this journey he ſaid no time would be loſt, as it would require ten days to adjuſt ſome affairs and accounts in diſpute between his brother Meer Coſſim and Ramnarain: he hoped in this interval that the Engliſh troops would have been far advanced on their way, and Clive have joined them, in which caſe he intended to return to Patna, and remove Ramnarain. But Clive reſolved not to ſeparate himſelf from Ramnarain until he ſaw him out of danger, and adviſed Roydoolub likewiſe, although in the field, to keep at hand. A momentary inſtant of general ſatisfaction and compliments occurred on the 14th by the arrival of meſſengers from Delhi, with the authentic patents of the honorary titles conferred on the Nabob, his relations, and Clive: they likewiſe brought *ſunnuds*, or the commiſſion for the Nabobſhip, but deficient in ſome eſſential formalities, which were withheld until the Nabob ſhould have remitted a ſum of money to Delhi: the ſunnuds were, nevertheleſs, proclaimed as fully valid, and few knew the contrary. The next day, the Nabob proceeded to Behar; and, ſeeing that Clive ſtill remained at Patna, inſtructed his brother Meer Coſſim to diſſemble, who accordingly pretended to be perfectly ſatisfied with the adjuſtment of his affairs with Ramnarain, and promiſed to leave Patna and come to Muxadavad as ſoon as he had ſettled his more private concerns; and the Nabob himſelf, inſtead of returning as he had intended from Behar to Patna, proceeded from thence on the 24th ſtraight acroſs the country to Bar on the bank of the Ganges, about 35 miles below Patna, where the main body of his army and their fleeet of boats were aſſembled; on which Clive left the city, carrying Ramnarain with him, to take leave of the Nabob. On the 30th, the Nabob Roydoolub, and Ramnarain, met by appointment on board of Clive's budgerow. The Nabob expreſſed perfect ſatisfaction in Ramnarain's integrity and fidelity, aſſured him of being continued in the government, and permitted him to ſet out the ſame

day on his return: he then ordered a part of his army to march on to Muxadavad, and kept the reſt to amuſe himſelf with in huntings along the hills; but conſented that Roydoolub ſhould accompany Clive, in order to diſcharge the deficiencies of the balances of money due on the treaties. Thus ended this political campaign, in which an army of 50,000 men had marched 300 miles out of their own province, and continued four months in the field, without firing a muſket; but produced the full accompliſhment of all that Clive intended, who maintained his deciſion over all intereſts, by not yielding to the prejudices of partiality, or the proffers of private advantage. 1758. April.

The French party which had eſcaped from Dacca to Rungpore, had raiſed a mud fort not far from the foot of the mountains, on the bank of the river Teſta, in which they maintained themſelves unmoleſted, until Coſſim Ally, the Phouſdar of the country, received the Nabob's orders to attack them; when they were ſurrounded by a great number of his people, who in leſs than a month reduced them to famine; on which they embarked in their boats, and went down the river, intending to regain the Great Ganges; but were followed and harraſſed ſo much, that they landed again, but on the other ſide of the river, and marched to the neighbouring town of Dinagepore, the capital of a Rajah, who with much timidity was a good man, which Mr. Courtin knowing, refrained from any violence to his people; who were all as timorous as the Rajah himſelf, and maintained the party with proviſions, until an officer at Mr. Courtin's requeſt came from Coſſimbuzar, to whom they ſurrendered priſoners, and were received with ſome terms of indulgence. Their number was reduced from 30 Europeans to 11, and from 100 to 30 Sepoys.

The ſmall number of troops left in Calcutta after the army took the field with Colonel Clive, was not ſufficient to keep up the neceſſary guards with ſufficient ſtrictneſs; which encouraged the French priſoners to attempt their eſcape. The building of the gaol was not ſufficient to hold them; and, as the encloſure had very high walls, they were permitted

1758. April. permitted to remain in the area; taking advantage of this liberty, they dug under the wall in a part unfrequented and covered with buſhes, and in the night of the 18th of December, all of them, being 90, eſcaped through the hole, and before morning moſt of them had croſſed the river, and not one was immediately retaken. Some were ſuſpected to have gone to the Daniſh factory oppoſite Hughley; but the agents there would not admit the ſearch. A month after 15 were ſtopped in Midnapore; and in the month of March, 30 more at Cutteck, going through Orixa, to join their countrymen in Chicacole.

The ſquadron with Mr. Pococke ſailed for the coaſt of Coromandel, in the beginning of February; the condemnation of the Kent, and the diſpatch of the ſloop to England, had reduced it to three ſhips of the line, and two frigates of 20 guns. Their departure, frequent although vague reports from ſea of French armaments, the expectation of ſending a great part of the Engliſh force into the field again with the Nabob, and above all the recent remembrance of calamity, had determined the preſidency to provide for the future ſafety of Calcutta, by raiſing a fort capable of the utmoſt defence; and all the natives which could be hired were continually employed in the work. The ſpot was choſen 1200 yards to the ſouth of the old fort; but not ſo near the river.

Various reports had been brought to Muxadavad, during the campaign to Patna. In February, ſoon after Ramnarain joined the camp on the road, it was ſaid that the Nabob had cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated; but, at the ſame time, came other news, that the Rajah Sunderſing, by the inſtigation of Roydoolub, had fallen on the Nabob's quarters in the night, and had killed him in his tent. However improbable, Meerum believed both reports, and aſſembled all the forces quartered round the city: this alarm was ſoon quieted by authentic letters from the camp; but the ſame principles of ſuſpicion and animoſity had driven Meerum to greater exceſſes of apprehenſion, on the approach of Colonel Clive and Roydoolub returning from the campaign.

The Coſſimbuzar river from January to June is too ſhallow for boats of burthen, which obliged the Engliſh troops, with their fleet, to keep along the great river, until they came to Bogwongola, and from whence they marched acroſs the iſland to Muxadavad, where Clive arrived on the 15th, and found the whole city in the utmoſt conſternation; and on the ſame day, he received advices of great importance from the coaſt of Coromandel; to which our narrative now returns. 1758. April.

END *of the* EIGHTH BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK IX.

THE new year opened in the Carnatic with as little activity as the laſt had cloſed. The French troops remained in Pondicherry waiting the arrival of their expected armament from Europe, during which, Mr. Soupire, as he ſays in a memoir he has publiſhed, entered into a negociation with two Jemautdars of the Engliſh Sepoys to ſurprize Tritchinopoly, by means of the French priſoners. Four hundred were in confinement in the city, and 50 or 60 had at various times been received into the Engliſh ſervice, and in the end of December, ſoon after Calliaud returned from Madraſs, two of the enliſted Frenchmen accuſed one De la Forge, who had been accepted as a ſurgeon's mate, that he had tampered with them to concur in a project, by which the foreigners in the ſervice of the garriſon were to murder the Engliſh guards in the night, then open the priſons, arm the priſoners, and with their aſſiſtance, overpower the reſt of the troops. Four other Frenchmen avowed the ſame converſation with De la Forge, who, with much obſtinacy, denied that he had ever ſpoken one word to any one of them: he was however hanged two days after his trial. This might have been the firſt opening of Mr. Soupire's ſcheme, although he ſays nothing of it; but nothing was diſcovered of his conſpiracy with the Sepoys, which he ſeems to have protracted until the end of April. 1758. January.

Enſign Banatyne at Outramalore, receiving intelligence that 200 of the French Sepoys at Carangoly had deſerted on ſome diſpute

1758. January. with the renter, and that the reſt were inclined to mutiny, marched on the night of the 25th of January, with 500 Sepoys, and 50 Europeans, and an hour before day-break made an aſſault by eſcalade on a part of the wall, which was in a ruinous condition; but they were repulſed with the loſs of 11 Sepoys killed, and 2 Europeans wounded. Slight as this was, no action of equal enterprize paſſed in the contending diſtricts until the end of April, although the mutual incurſions were as frequent as before; but being always levelled at defenceleſs villages, they carried the reproach of robbery, more than the reputation of war; and each ſide loſing as much as it gained by theſe depredations, the French officer at Vandiwaſh propoſed a conference to put an end to them, and Banatyne was permitted to treat with him.

The reports which the French government ſpread with much diligence, of their approaching ſuperiority on the coaſt of Coromandel, encouraged even the moſt inſignificant chiefs, which held under the Nabob, or the company, to queſtion or inſult their authority. In the vaſt plain which occupies the Carnatic, from the latitude of Puliacate to the river Coleroon, are many tracts of ſandy ground ſpread amongſt the richeſt diſtricts of the country. Theſe ſoils having always been neglected by the labourer, and left to nature, propagate abundance of uſeleſs vegetation. In ſome, which with care would rear the coco-nut, the eaſtern palms prevail, a few of which, riſing to their full growth, ſpread their ſeeds with the wind, which in a ſucceſſion of time cover the whole extent with plants, that ſtrangling one another by their multitude, remain ſtunted, and create the ſtubborneſt of thickets. Others of theſe tracts, inſtead of bearing the palm kinds, will only produce a ſtrong and ſpreading ſhrub, which riſes to the height of eight or nine feet, and forms one continued coppice. Many of theſe wilds are from 15 to 40 miles in circumference, and all of theſe extents are poſſeſſed by petty Polygars, with their clâns of half-ſavage ſubjects, whoſe occupation is to rob the neighbouring villages in the night, and in the day to take all kinds of veniſon and game, in which they are ſo expert, that they rarely fail, on the ſhorteſt notice, to produce the quantity demanded

demanded by any perſon in authority. By theſe obeiſances, and ſometimes a ſmall preſent of money, and now and then ridding the country of a tiger, they compenſate their thefts, which are rarely attended with bloodſhed, or violence; when they are, troops march, their hamlets are burnt, and priſoners taken, the chief himſelf in preference, who atone ſeverely for the miſdeeds, whether of themſelves or their fellows. Two of theſe Polygars, between whoſe woods the fort of Trepaſſoor is ſituated, ventured in the end of January to make incurſions, not only into the diſtricts dependant on this fort, but even into thoſe of Pondamalee, within 15 miles of Madraſs, and carried off large quantities of grain and cattle from the villages; on which the commandant, Jemaul Saib, who had returned from Tinivelly to Madraſs, was ordered to march againſt them with four companies of Sepoys. The one, named Rangapah Naigue, immediately aſked pardon, and made reſtitution and atonement: but the other, Wardapah Naigue, ſtood on his defence, until Jemaul Saib had penetrated into his woods, and burnt ſeveral of the hamlets concealed in them; on which, he ſubmitted likewiſe, and the Sepoys were withdrawn. 1758. February.

The army of the Morattoes under the command of Balaventrow, which, in the preceding year, had defeated the Nabob of Cudapah, who fell in the battle, found notwithſtanding this victory, that they could not eaſily compleat the reduction of the country; for Abdull Nabey Cawn, the couſin-german and neareſt relation of the deceaſed Nabob, threw himſelf with a ſtrong force into the ſtrongeſt fortreſs of the province called *Sidout*, near the town of Cudapah and the late field of battle; and others of the Pitan Captains ſtood on their defence in their reſpective holds, the ſieges of which would employ more time than the extent of Balaventrow's expedition. He therefore ſent agents to negotiate with Abdull Nabey; but likewiſe detached parties to harraſs the diſtricts adjacent to the forts which held out; during which he marched himſelf with the main body of his army acroſs the province of Cudapah to the eaſtward, and, when arrived on the confines of the Carnatic to the N.W. formed three diviſions, one of which went againſt the Polygar Bomrauze; the other entered the

1758. February. diſtricts of Damarlah Venketappah and Bangar Yatcham-naigue; and with the third he appeared himſelf before Nelore. The Nabob, in ſettling the treaty of tribute in the preceding year with Armetrow, the deputy of Balaventrow, gave, in the general aſſeſſment on his vaſſals, an order on each of theſe Polygars to pay him 70,000 rupees, and the pretence on which Balaventrow now commenced hoſtilities againſt them was, that the aſſeſſment meant only the rate of the actual year, whereas they owed, he ſaid, for the ſix before; and the reaſon he gave for attacking Nelore was, to prevent Nazeabulla from marching againſt the Nabob, with a large body of French troops, which he heard were advancing to join him from Mr. Buſſy's army; but Nazeabullah, having without heſitation paid him a ſum adequate to his expectations, he a few days after wrote to the Nabob, recommending a reconciliation between them. His detachments plundered the fair towns of Venkati Gherri and Calaſtri; and all the three Polygars were ſo frightened, that, in expectation of the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, each of them gave bonds and ſecurity for the payment of their tribute to the Nabob, which were not equal to the demands of Balaventrow; immediately after this the Morattoes left their country, as the Polygars believed, from reſpect to the remonſtrances of the preſidency, but in reality purſuant to orders received at this time from Balagerow: they returned into Cudapah, where Balaventrow concluded at Sidout a treaty with Abdul Nabey Cawn, by which it was agreed, that the country ſhould be equally divided betwixt them: and the Morattoes were put in poſſeſſion of Goramcondah, a ſtrong fort and paſs midway in the range of mountains, which bound the province of Cudapah to the weſt. A part of the army was left to guard the ſhare of the Morattoes in the province, and Balaventrow, with the reſt, recroſſed the weſtern mountains, and marched towards Sirpi, ordering at the ſame time the detachment with Armetrow at Velore to join him there.

The Nabob's brother, Abdulwahab, having gathered 1000 horſe, and 2 or 3000 foot, moved in the beginning of the year from Chitore to Chandergherri. This place was anciently the capital of the Carnatic, at preſent an open town in ruins. It is ſituated about

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10 miles from the famous pagoda of Tripetti, which Abdulwahab endeavoured to perſuade the company's renter to deliver up: but the renter referred him to Madraſs, and he was deterred from the hoſtilities he intended, by the march of Jemaul Saheb againſt the polygars of Trepaſſore. Not knowing therefore what to do with his troops, who clamoured for pay, he ſent them under the command of his principal officer to Mortizally of Velore, who was preparing to attack the fort of Tripatore, at the bottom of the valley of Vaniambady. We are ignorant on what pretenſions theſe hoſtilities were founded, but they were undertaken with much earneſtneſs: for, beſides his own, and the troops of Abdulwahab, the Phouſdar likewiſe engaged the body of Morattoes then in his town with Armetrow. The whole force was 4000 horſe and 6000 foot; but the fort of Tripatore was of difficult approach; and on the 8th of February, the day after the batteries were opened, a cannon-ball killed Armetrow; which being perceived by the garriſon, they ſallied, routed the beſiegers, and took their cannon. The Morattoes immediately after this defeat quitted the country, and joined their main body in Myſore; and the troops of Mortizally and Abdulwahab returned to their homes. 1758. February.

Mr. Pocock, with the ſhips of war from Bengal, arrived at Madraſs on the 24th of February; they had been abſent 17 months on the expedition. The two frigates were immediately detached to cruize off Pondicherry. Some days after, arrived the Queenſborough frigate, which Admiral Stevens had diſpatched with advices to Madraſs, from whence ſhe had been ſent to Bengal, and now returned from thence. On the 24th of March, Admiral Stevens himſelf arrived from Bombay with 4 ſhips of the line; and on the 17th of April the ſquadron ſailed to the ſouthward.

The Myſore general Hyderally, after his retreat from Madura in the end of the preceding year, continued at Dindigul, waiting the arrival of a body of French troops, with which he intended to return to the attack; and in the interval Mahomed Iſſoof marched with his army from Chevelpetore to the city of Madura, and ſet to work to repair the fortifications. As the French troops in the Pagoda of Seringham could

1758. April. could not be diminiſhed without danger from the garriſon in Tritchinopoly, Mr. Soupire ſent the force he intended for Hyderally from Pondicherry; and from the reſtraint laid on all his military operations, they were no more than 300 Sepoys and 75 Europeans, who arrived at Dindigul in the end of January. They were commanded by Mr. Aſtruc, the ſame officer who had been defeated by Major Lawrence before Tritchinopoly in the year 1753, from which time he had continued a priſoner on his parole until the month of October of the preceding year, when he was exchanged. On his arrival at Dindigul, he found Hyderally preſſed by urgent affairs to return to Seringapatam, the capital of Myſore, which broke the ſcheme of attacking Madura; ſoon after the interview, Hyderally departed, and Mr. Aſtruc returned to the pagoda of Seringham, where he arrived on the 20th of March, and, having been long ill, died on the 22d; he was a gallant and worthy man.

February. The agent ſent by the Nabob to Maphuze Khan arrived at Nellitangaville on the 28th of February, and found him there, encamped in paltry tents, with 50 horſe, oſtentatious of his poverty, pretending much diſcontent againſt his allies, and much attachment to the Nabob; but when terms of reconciliation were propoſed, nothing leſs would ſatisfy him than the government of the whole country as an appanage in fee; indeed he was never maſter of his own opinion, and at preſent not of his will, for the weſtern polygars, elated by the riſing ſuperiority of the French in the Carnatic, took the field, and obliged him, who depended upon them for his ſubſiſtence, to lend his name, and to appear with them in perſon as the pretenſion of their hoſtilities: the army was compoſed of the troops of the Pulitaver, of Vadagherri, of the three minor polygars, Cotaltava, Nadacourch, and Savandah; and from the eaſtern ſide, of Etiaporum, the dependant of Catabominaigue, who himſelf continued firm to his new connexion with the Engliſh. The confederates had likewiſe perſuaded the Polygar of Shatore under the hills, whoſe fort is only fifteen miles to the ſouth of Chevelpetore, to enter ſo far into their views as to admit a body of the Pulitaver's Colleries into his fort, with whom and his own he made depredations into the adjacent

jacent country, whilſt Mahomed Iſſoof, apprehenſive of the arrival of Hyderally and the French, kept his force collected in Madura. As ſoon as the news of Hyderally's departure was confirmed, Mahomed Iſſoof took the field and marched againſt Shatore. The polygar on his appearance made ſubmiſſions, turned out the Pulitaver's men, and paid a fine in money; but as ſoon as the Engliſh troops returned to Chevelpetore, he renewed his depredations; on which Mahomed Iſſoof attacked the fort again, which the polygar, after a ſlight reſiſtance, abandoned; and one of his relations was appointed in his ſtead. In the mean time, the confederates had, in various attacks from Nellitangaville, taken all the poſts between this place and Tinivelly, and many of the men placed to guard them were put to the ſword: at Tirancourchy, which was taken by aſſault in the night, 27 horſemen, and a greater number of Sepoys, were killed. The confederates, elated with theſe ſucceſſes, threatened all who did not join them, and attacked the polygar of Outamalee, becauſe he had refuſed. They likewiſe prepared to take poſſeſſion of Tinivelly, and boaſted that they would reduce the fort of Palamcotah. But the approach of Mahomed Iſſoof from Chevelpetore ſtopped their progreſs, nor had they courage to give him battle; but, having ſtrengthened the poſts they had taken, retreated to Nellitangaville, ſending, however, detachments to harraſs and interrupt his operations; but without ſucceſs; for all their parties which ventured to meet, or could not avoid the encounter of the Sepoys, were beaten, and by the end of April all the poſts which had been taken were recovered. Mahomed Iſſoof then reſolved to carry the war into the enemy's country, and to begin with the polygar of Vadagherri, although the moſt diſtant, becauſe the moſt powerful of the alliance. His villages in the plain were in flames, and the troops had begun to penetrate into the wood which encloſes his fort, when Iſſoof received advices and inſtructions from the preſidency at Madraſs, and from Captain Calliaud at Tritchinopoly, which called him and the troops under his command to ſervices of much greater neceſſity and importance.

1758. April.

At day-break, on the 28th of April, a ſquadron of 12 ſail were deſcried ſtanding in from various points of the compaſs for the road

1758. April. of Fort St. David, where the Engliſh frigates, Triton and Bridgewater, chanced to be at anchor. It was ſoon perceived that the ſtrangers were French; and two or three of the ſhips being to the north of the road, whilſt the reſt were advancing from the ſouth, precluded the eſcape of the frigates, as the wind blew from the offing. The captains, therefore, prudently reſolved to run their ſhips aſhore, in order to preſerve the men, which they effected without loſing any.

The French ſquadron was commanded by the Count D'Aché. After ſome change in the ſhips which were firſt appointed, he ſailed from Breſt on the 6th of March of the preceding year, with the Zodiac of 74 guns, the Belliqueux of 70, the Superbe of 64, belonging to the navy of France, and a 50 gun ſhip, with a frigate belonging to the Eaſt-India Company. On board of theſe ſhips was embarked the regiment of Lally, conſiſting of 1080 men, 50 of the royal artillery, a great number of officers of diſtinction, and the count de Lally, Colonel of the regiment of his name, lieutenant general in the French army, and now appointed Governor-general with the moſt extenſive powers over all the French poſſeſſions and eſtabliſhments in India. The ſhips had ſcarcely got clear of the land, when a ſquall of wind carried away the main-top gallant and the mizen top-maſt of the Belliqueux, on which ſhe made the ſignal of diſtreſs, and was obliged to anchor near the ſhore in bad ground. The Zodiac immediately tacked, and worked cloſe-hauled to aſſiſt her, and the ſquall continuing, carried away the main and fore-topmaſt of this ſhip likewiſe. Theſe accidents induced Mr. D'Aché to return immediately into the port of Breſt, as affording the ſpeedieſt means of repairing the damages. In the ſhort interval between the final orders for the departure of the ſquadron, and the advices of its return into Breſt, the French miniſtry at Verſailles had received ſuch ſiniſter accounts of the French affairs in Canada, that they changed the deſtination of the ſhips Belliqueux and Superbe, and appointed them to America; and ordered Mr. D'Aché to remain at Breſt, until joined by other ſhips of equal force; which, however, the navy of France, in this time of diſtreſs, was not able to ſpare from its other neceſſities. But the French Eaſt India Company had ſeveral ſhips, built expreſsly to ſerve

when required, as men of war, of which four had ſailed in December, with the regiment of Lorrain; and three were now added to the two Mr. D'Aché already had under his command; and he was to take the others at the Iſle of France. The delays of aſſembling the Company's ſhips from Port l'Orient retarded his departure from Breſt until the 4th of May. The ſhips carried with them a malignant fever, at that time reigning in the port. On the 23d of July they anchored at Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, having loſt 300 men of all kinds by the fever, which continued even in this climate, although healthier than moſt in the world: having waited two months in expectation of this benefit, the ſquadron ſailed on the 25th of September; and after a paſſage of 85 days, ſtill infected with the ſickneſs, arrived on the 18th of December at the Iſle of France. Here they found the ſhips which had carried the regiment of Lorrain, returned from Pondicherry. Taking their crews and ſuch of the ſhips as he choſe, Mr. D'Aché formed the ſquadron, with which he now appeared on the coaſt. They ſailed from hence on the 27th of January. It would be uſeful to know their rout, in order to avoid it; for their paſſage was very long, not making the coaſt until the 25th of April, when the Diligent was ſent forward to Karical to get intelligence of the Engliſh ſquadron; and returning on the 27th without any, ſtruck on a ſand-bank, which detained all the ſhips the reſt of the day in getting her afloat. On the 28th they appeared, as we have ſeen, before Fort St. David. 1758. April.

Every ſucceſs was expected to follow the arrival of this armament in India. The ſhips were to drive the Engliſh ſquadron off the coaſt, the troops with thoſe already at Pondicherry were to demoliſh the Engliſh ſettlements; and ſuch was the confidence of not meeting an enemy in the field, that the inſtructions formed at Verſailles ordered Mr. Lally to open his operations by the ſiege of Fort St. David, before which the ſhips anchored, in order to land the troops as ſoon as thoſe from Pondicherry could march to inveſt the place. The wreck of the two Engliſh frigates confirmed theſe preſumptions; and Mr. Lally went away in the Count de Provence of 60 guns, attended by a frigate called the Diligente, to proclaim his

1758. April. commiſſion, and give the neceſſary orders at Pondicherry; he landed at five in the afternoon, and was received with all the diſtinctions annexed to his authority. In the mean time the other ſhips worked in, and anchored off of Cudalore, two miles to the ſouth of Fort St. David.

The Engliſh ſquadron having in ten days worked as high to windward as the head of Ceylon, ſtood in again for the coaſt, which they made on the 28th, off Negapatam, and proceeding along ſhore, diſcovered at nine the next morning the French ſhips riding off Cuddalore, which immediately weighed and bore down towards Pondicherry, throwing out ſignals to recal the Comte de Provence and the Diligente; but they not weighing in obedience to the ſummons, the ſquadron ſtood out to ſea E. by N. the wind blowing from the S. E. Mr. Pocock, on the firſt ſight of the French ſquadron, had thrown out the ſignal for chace, which implies, that every ſhip is to puſh with crowded ſail, and without regard to each other, in purſuit of the enemy, until countermanded by a different ſignal. At half an hour after twelve, his ſhips were within a league of the enemy, who were formed, and waiting for them in a line of battle a-head; when Mr. Pocock hauled down the chacing ſignal, brought to on the ſtarboard tack, hoiſted his colours, and made a ſignal for the line a-head, and to be formed at the diſtance of half a cable, or 100 yards, one ſhip from another. The Tyger ſailing ill, and the Cumberland much worſe, were at this time ſo far a-ſtern of the other ſhips, that it was ten minutes paſt two, before they got up to their allotted ſtations in the line; which being now formed, the Admiral made the ſignal to bear down, each ſhip in the exact direction to the antagoniſt ſhe was intended to encounter, according to the diſpoſition of the two lines; and this was explained by continuing the diſtinctive ſignal of the line of battle a-head, joined to that of bearing down.

The French line conſiſted of nine ſail, all, excepting the Zodiac, capable of carrying more guns than they mounted, and ſhe having changed her lower battery of 32 pounders, for 24 at Breſt, had not been able to replace them at the Iſle of France. The Vengeur of 54 led, followed by the Bien Aimé of 58, next the Conde of 44, and

and next the Duc of Orleans of 50: Theſe were the van: In the centre was the Zodiac of 74, on which Mr. D'Aché hoiſted his flag. The four ſhips which formed the rear, were the Saint Louis of 50, immediately after the Zodiac, then the Moras of 44, the Sylphide of 36, and the Duc de Bourgogne of 60 guns cloſed the line. 1758. April.

The Engliſh line, having only ſeven ſhips to nine, were to chuſe their opponents accordingly. Mr. Pocock in the Yarmouth of 74, was the centre, and ſteered for the Zodiac, the centre of the enemy's line. In conſequence the Tyger of 60 guns, which led the Engliſh Van, bore down for the Vengeur; the Saliſbury of 50, for the Bien Aimé; and the Elizabeth of 64, in which Admiral Stevens hoiſted his flag, and was the ſhip a-head of Mr. Pocock, neglecting the Condé, bore down for the Duke of Orleans, which ranged immediately a-head of M. D'Aché. In conſequence, likewiſe, the Cumberland of 70, which was to be next a-ſtern of Mr. Pocock, ſhould have ſteered for the Saint Louis, the Newcaſtle of 50 for the Moras, and the Weymouth of 60, neglecting the Sylphide, for the Duc de Bourgogne.

This was underſtood. It is likewiſe generally underſtood, that when the Admiral brings to, and throws out the ſignal to engage, every ſhip is to do ſo likewiſe, at the ſame diſtance from its reſpective opponent, as the admiral lies from his. But the Cumberland, from ſome unaccountable defect, was ſo unmanageable, that in bearing down, ſhe could not be got to wear clear of the Yarmouth, that is, to keep on her left hand, but at every endeavour flew up on the Yarmouth's weather-quarter, or to the right.

But another miſchance happened, which was affected by this of the Cumberland. The ſignal for the line of battle a-head, which was kept flying on board the admiral, whilſt bearing down for the enemy, was miſtaken by the Newcaſtle and Weymouth, to mean that the ſhips were to go down a-ſtern of one another, inſtead of continuing on the left of each other, until they ſhould hawl the wind to preſent their broadſides on the ſignal for engagement, when this change would place them exactly right in the line of battle a-head. In conſequence

1758. April. the Newcaſtle kept behind the Cumberland, and the Weymouth behind the Newcaſtle, and as the Cumberland had not got into the line (or into the wake of the Yarmouth) when the ſignal for engagement was thrown out, the other two ſhips were ſtill farther off from the enemy's, and the laſt the fartheſt.

Mr. Pocock ſaw the miſtakes and embarraſſments, and, whilſt bearing down, threw out ſignals to rectify them, which were not underſtood by the Newcaſtle and Weymouth, and could not be obeyed by the Cumberland. Nevertheleſs, it was neceſſary to go on; for the whole of the enemy's line began to fire hotly, as ſoon as the Engliſh ſhips came within random ſhot, and with the chance of much advantage, as the Engliſh ſhips bearing down preſented their heads, and were expoſed to be raked fore and aft until they formed the line, and preſented their broadſides for battle: but luckily the enemy's fire continued without aim. Mr. Pocock did not return a ſingle ſhot until his ſhip hawled up with her broadſide oppoſite to the Zodiac's, when the three ſhips of the van were likewiſe got into their proper ſtations: he then, at 55 minutes paſt three, threw out the ſignal, and the fire inſtantly became general throughout the line, for the three ſhips of the rear, although out of certain aim, were within reach of chance execution. In five minutes the Sylphide bore away under the lee of the Zodiac, although ſhe had only received the diſtant ſhot of the Newcaſtle and Weymouth; but ſhe had only been admitted into the line to impoſe by ſhew. In 15 minutes the Duc de Bourgogne, the laſt of the enemy's rear, quitted her ſtation likewiſe, and went off in the ſame direction as the Sylphide, although ſhe had only been expoſed to the fire of the Weymouth, and was not much damaged. About the ſame time the Conde, the third and weakeſt of the enemy's van, received a ſhot which diſabled her rudder, and obliged her likewiſe to quit the line. The Engliſh and French admirals, Pocock and D'Aché, as with a ſpirit of duel, kept cloſe and directed their fire entirely againſt each other, and the engagement had likewiſe been fierce between the two vans, and continued ſo after the Conde bore away. The Cumberland ſtill flung up ſo cloſe to the quarter of the Yarmouth, that ſhe had not room to wear, and

and get into her ſtation, and at length backed her topſails to obtain it by falling aſtern; which ſucceeded, but not until ſhe had dropt below her opponent the Saint Louis, and at a conſiderable diſtance from the Yarmouth which ſhe was to ſecond; during this operation, the Newcaſtle and Weymouth, in order to keep their proper diſtances, backed likewiſe, and both fell below the Moras, the laſt remaining of the enemy's rear; and were thus likewiſe left without any ſhip to fire at. But after the Cumberland had ſet ſail, and gained her proper ſtation, the Newcaſtle ſtill kept back, and failed to cloſe the line, on which the Weymouth hailed her to do ſo, which not being attended to, ſhe hawled the wind, ſet ſail, and, paſſing to windward of the Newcaſtle, came properly into the line, a-breaſt of the Moras, during which the Cumberland was well engaged with the Saint Louis, and took off the fire of her forward guns, which ſhe had for ſome time employed againſt the quarter of the Yarmouth. Mr. Pocock had continually thrown out ſignals for the rear to get in order, and now continued them for the Newcaſtle. A great exploſion of powder had blown up in the Zodiac, another in the Bien Aimé; the Moras, although by much the weakeſt of the enemy's ſhips, had fought with as much activity as any of them; and when attacked by the freſh and ſuperior fire of the Weymouth, ſtood it with great loſs for 10 minutes, when ſhe quitted the line, ſhattered and admired. Mr. D'Aché continually made the ſignals of the fugitives to rejoin the line. The engagement had continued an hour and a half, when the Tyger, which led the Engliſh van, having loſt her foretop ſail yard, could not keep her ſtation, but fell ſlanting a-head of her opponent, the Vengeur, on which this ſhip, favoured at the ſame time by a ſmall change of the wind, hauled up, and began to get to windward of the Tyger's quarter, over which ſhe would then have had every advantage, and with ſufficient reſiſtance againſt the Saliſbury behind; and by this time the Comte de Provence, with the Diligente, were advanced from Pondicherry within a league of the battle. Nevertheleſs Mr. D'Aché finding that the ſhips which had bore away did not return, made the general ſignal, and bore down towards them, intending afterwards to take up the Comte de Provence, and with her

1758. April.

1758. April. to wait the renewal of the engagement, if the Engliſh choſe. But the rigging in the greateſt part of their line was ſo exceſſively damaged, that the French outſailed them three feet to one; on which Mr. Pocock hauled the flag of battle down, and ſummoned his captains. They were Latham of the Tyger, Somerſet of the Saliſbury, Kempenfelt of the Elizabeth with Admiral Stevens, Harriſon of the Yarmouth with Mr. Pocock, Brereton of the Cumberland, Leg of the Newcaſtle, and Vincent of the Weymouth.

The loſs on board the Engliſh ſquadron was 29 killed, and 89 wounded, in all 118. In the Yarmouth 7 were killed and 32 wounded, in the Saliſbury 8 and 16; the Cumberland 7 and 13; none were killed, and only 5 wounded, in the Weymouth and Newcaſtle together; the reſt fell nearly equal in the Tyger and Elizabeth. The killed and wounded in the French ſquadron amounted by their own accounts to 500. In the Zodiac alone more than in all the Engliſh ſhips, being 35 and 115, including 60 ſcorched by their own gun-powder; 40 were killed in the Bien Aimé; 32 in the Moras, 13 in the Vengeur, 13 in the Saint Louis, 12 in the Duc d'Orleans, 6 in the Duc de Bourgogne, 3 in the Sylphide, the Conde 6 or 7: the wounded in all the ſhips, excepting the Zodiac, were only twice the number of the ſlain. The diſparity of the total loſs was more than four to one, and far exceeded the diſproportion of the numbers on board: the French ſquadron having with the troops 5000, and the Engliſh 3200. The frigates on either ſide ſuffered nothing, having been kept at a diſtance to repeat ſignals.

The Yarmouth with the ſhips of the van had received ſo much hurt in their rigging, that none could hawl the wind. The immediate reſource was, to have anchored; but when the engagement ended, the ſquadron had got out of ſight of land, into 25 fathom water, and the wind blowing freſh had raiſed ſuch a heavy ſwell, that the tumbling of the ſhips at anchor would have rendered the various operations of ſetting up maſts, yards, and ſhrouds, always difficult at ſea, almoſt impracticable. It was therefore reſolved to repair under ſail. The ſhips accordingly ſtood in for the land S. W. the wind ſtill at S. S. E. but the current was ſtrong and the unweildy Cumberland falling

falling continually to leeward obliged the others to abide by her; ſo that, before the morning, when they came to an anchor in ſhore, they were a league to the north of Sadraſs, and 35 miles to the ſouth of Pondicherry, off of which the engagement began. The French ſquadron had ſuffered ſo much leſs aloft, that they anchored at 10 at night in the road of Alamparva, 15 miles to windward of the Engliſh. The Bien Aimé during the fight had the ſlings of her ſheet anchor ſhot away, which dropping, run out the cable, which was immediately cut; another ſhot unperceived had grazed the upper coil of the cable bent to the beſt bower, with which the ſhip came to anchor at Alamparva, but on the firſt ſtrain this cable parted; a ſmall anchor was immediately dropped, but would not hold; there was no other ready; and before the ſails could be ſet, the ſhip was driven into the ſurf, and ſtranded without the poſſibility of recovery; but all the men were ſaved, and afterwards moſt of the cannon and ſtores. 1758. April.

The firſt hour of Mr. Lally's arrival at Pondicherry was diſtinguiſhed by the exceſſive vivacity of his character. Before the night cloſed, 1000 Europeans and as many Sepoys were on their march to Fort St. David, commanded by the Count D'Eſtaign, who landed with him: but ſuch was the hurry to be in motion, that they proceeded without proviſions, and their guides led them aſtray, and brought them into the bounds over the plain to the weſt, where they did not arrive until ſeven in the morning: the guard at the redoubt of Chimundelum retreated before them to the Garden-houſe, where was another; and both together retired to the fort, after five or ſix were killed. They were followed almoſt to the glacis with ſo much preſumption, that ſeven or eight of the enemy were killed by the cannon from the ramparts, of which indeed abundance were fired on their appearance. Nevertheleſs, many preſt by hunger remained ranſacking the houſes near the eſplanade for immediate victuals; on which two companies of Sepoys under the command of an European officer were ſent againſt them from the fort, who fired away all their ammunition at too great a diſtance to do or receive any harm. Several ſmaller parties of Sepoys were likewiſe detached

1758. April. to ſurprize ſtraggling plunderers, and before noon brought in ſix Europeans, from whom an account of the enemy's force was obtained. In the afternoon was heard the firſt firing of the two ſquadrons, which were then almoſt out of ſight, and ſoon after diſappeared.

The next day Mr. Soupire came up with more troops, ſome heavy cannon, and a convoy of proviſions; and on the firſt of May, Mr. Lally himſelf, eſcorted by two companies of Huſſars, arrived at the garden-houſe, and immediately detached the Comte D'Eſtaigne acroſs the river of Tripopalore to reconnoitre and take poſt near Cuddalore. This town remained in the ſame condition as when attacked twelve years before by the troops of Dupleix; incloſed on the three ſides towards the land with a rampart and ſmall baſtions, which had neither ditch or any other advanced defences; to the ſea it was open, but the approach on this ſide was flanked by the two baſtions at the extremities. M. D'Eſtaigne carefully reconnoitred the walls to the land, and concluded that the other ſide had the ſame defence; and not a man in the French army knew enough of the place to aſſert the contrary. The garriſon of Cuddalore conſiſted of four companies of Sepoys, and a few artillery-men, under the command of a lieutenant with an enſign; who were reinforced in the evening of Mr. Lally's arrival by 30 Europeans and ſome Laſcars from Fort St. David.

There were in the fort 150 French priſoners; and on Mr. D'Eſtaigne's arrival, it was demanded of him to ſend in proviſions for their daily ſuſtenance during the impending ſiege. Mr. Lally, on the day after his arrival, propoſed a conference on this ſubject, as well as on the ſurrender of Cuddalore, and the commandant Major Polier went to him: after much diſcuſſion, and ſeveral meſſages during this and the ſubſequent day, it was agreed that Cuddalore ſhould be delivered up at ſun-riſe on the 4th, provided a battery of heavy cannon were at that time ready to open, when the Engliſh garriſon there might, with their arms and field-ammunition, retire to Fort St. David; and that the French priſoners ſhould be releaſed, with liberty to proceed to any of the neutral ports to the ſouth, where

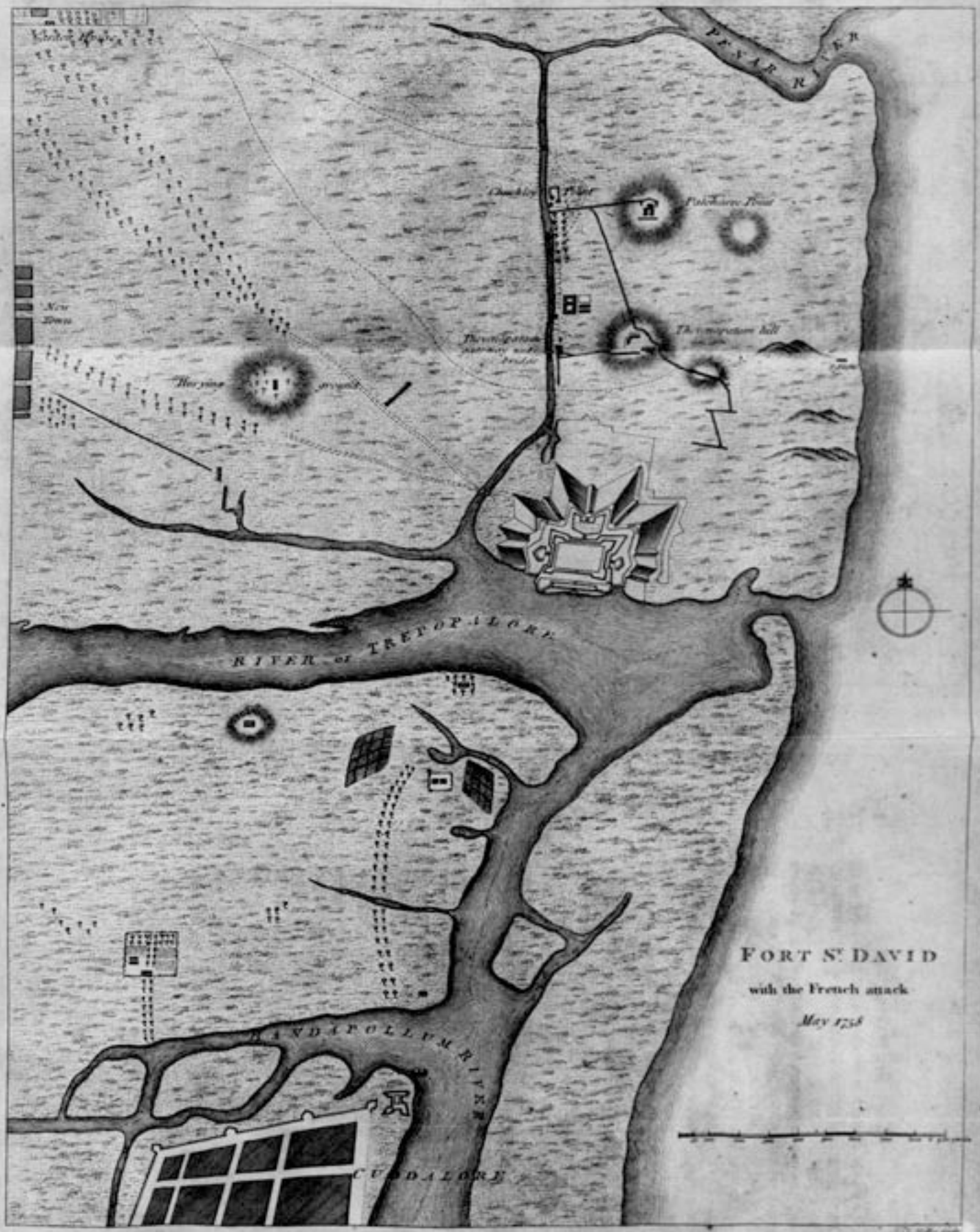
where they were to remain until the fate of Fort St. David ſhould be decided; on which their own was to depend. 1758. May.

The impatience of Mr. Lally's temper had already ſpread diſcontent through the ſettlement he was ſent to govern. Not finding the ſame means and facilities for military operations as he had been accuſtomed to in the armies of Europe, he reſolved to create them, as it were, in ſpite of nature. The different caſts of the Indian religion being appropriated to ſpecific and hereditary vocations, many of them are entirely prohibited from ſervile offices and hard labour; and of thoſe allotted to ſuch occupations, each muſt abide by that alone to which he was born. The huſbandman would be diſhonoured by employing his mattock excepting in the field he is to ſow; and even lower races have their diſtinctions, inſomuch that the cooley, who carries a burden on his head, will not carry it on his ſhoulder: diſtinctions likewiſe prevail amongſt the ſoldiery, for the man who rides, will not cut the graſs that is to feed his horſe; nor at this time would the Sepoy dig the trench which was to protect him from a cannon-ball: hence the numerous train of followers and attendants which always accompanies a camp in India. Another embarraſſment likewiſe ariſes from the want of horſes proper for draught, which is but ill ſupplied by the feeble bullocks of the country; nor are ſufficient numbers even of them properly trained to be purchaſed on emergency. Excepting in the ſiege of Pondicherry by Mr. Boſcawen, theſe defects had not been much felt in the hoſtilities between the two nations, becauſe mutual; and ſix field-pieces generally decided a battle; two of battering cannon, the fate of a fortreſs: but another warfare was now to enſue, for the reduction of Fort St. David required a regular ſiege. The hurry with which Mr. Lally had obliged the firſt diviſion to march againſt Cuddalore, left no time to collect the neceſſary number of coolies and other attendants in Pondicherry; on which he ordered the deficiency to be ſupplied by the Indian inhabitants of the town, a number of whom were preſſed, and employed without diſtinction, in carrying burthens, and other ſuch ſervices. The violence created terror; the diſgrace, indignation. Mr. Deleyrit, and the council, who ſtill retained their functions, but under

1758. May. the controul of Mr. Lally, repreſented the inconveniencies which might ariſe from alienating the attachment of the natives; but their remonſtrance drew his reſentment on themſelves, mixed with ſuſpicions, that they only wiſhed to protect thoſe who were ſubſervient to their own emoluments and advantages in the government. The ſtrain of this exertion only diminiſhed the effect; and the cannon and ſtores followed ſo ſlowly, that as ſoon as the troops had taken poſſeſſion of Cuddalore, Mr. Lally returned to Pondicherry, in order to accelerate their arrival by the ſame means which had already been employed with ſo little ſucceſs.

The ſquadron with Mr. D'Aché were ſix days in working up from Alamparva to the road of Pondicherry, where they anchored on the ſixth of May. The troops were immediately landed, and as faſt as they came on ſhore marched off for Fort St. David; and the heavy artillery and ammunition, for want of means by land, were embarked, to be landed at the mouth of the river Panar, which lies about a mile to the north of Fort St. David. The park of artillery was formed at the Garden-houſe. Mr. Lally returned to Cuddalore on the 14th, and in the enſuing night the engineers began to erect a battery for two 24 pounders, on the north bank of the river of Bandapollam; they were only intended to fire plunging-ſhot into the fort, being 1000 yards diſtant from the walls: nevertheleſs the garriſon fired abundantly during this and the ſucceeding night to interrupt the work.

Three conſiderable rivers, coming from the weſtward, gain the ſea in the ſpace of four miles within the bounds of Fort St. David; the bed of the Panar lies about 1800 yards to the north of the river of Tripapolore, and the two communicate by a canal which runs nearly parallel to, and about 1000 yards diſtant from, the margin of the ſea. Fort St. David ſtands in the angle where the canal joins the river of Tripapolore; which paſſeth cloſe to the ſouth face of the fort, and there ſends off to the ſouth an arm that ſoon joins the river of Bandapollam, when both united in one channel continue along the eaſtern ſide of Cuddalore, ſeparated from the ſea by a mound of ſand. The waters of Tripapolore and Bandapollam protected the fort


PENNAR RIVER
RIVER of TREPOPALORE
PANDAPOLLUM RIVER
CUDDALORE
FORT St DAVID
with the French attack
May 1758

fort from the regular approach of trenches on the ſouth; but on the weſt and north the ground preſented rather more advantages than obſtacles to an enemy. 1758. May.

By many additions and improvements Fort St. David was now become a fortification armed at all points; but the original defect of want of ſpace in the body of the place ſtill remained; being only 140 feet from W. to E. and 390 from N. to S. The four baſtions at the angles mounted each 12 guns. The curtains, as well as the baſtions, were ſurrounded by a fauſſebray with a brick parapet. The out-works were, a horn-work to the north, mounting 34 guns; two large ravelins, one on the eaſt, the other on the weſt; a ditch round all, which had a cuvette cut along the middle, and was ſupplied with water from the river of Tripapolore; the ſcarp and counter-ſcarp of the ditch faced with brick; a broad covered way excellently palliſaded, with arrows at the ſalient angles commanding the glacis, and the glacis itſelf was provided with well-conſtructed mines. All theſe works, excepting the horn-work, were planned by Mr. Robins, but the horn work was raiſed before his arrival in India with much ignorance and expence, the whole being of ſolid maſonry, and the rampart too narrow to admit the free recoil of the guns. The ground to the north of the fort, included by the ſea, the rivers of Panar and Tripapolore, and the canal which joins them, is a plot of ſand, riſing in ſeveral parts into large hillocks, which afford good ſhelter againſt the fort. On the edge of the canal, 1300 yards to the north of the fort, ſtood an obſolete redoubt, called Chuckly-point. It was of maſonry, ſquare, mounted eight guns, and in the area were lodgments for the guard: the entrance was a palliſaded gate under an arch, but the redoubt was not encloſed by a ditch. About 200 yards to the right of this ſtood another ſuch redoubt, on a ſand-hill called Patcharee. Four hundred yards in the rear of theſe redoubts, was another ſand-hill, much larger than that of Patcharee; on which the Dutch had a factory-houſe called Thevenapatam; but the houſe had lately been demoliſhed; and a faſcine battery of five guns was raiſed on the hill. In a line on the left of this hill, and on the brink of the canal, was a gateway, with a narrow rampart and battlements, which

1758. May. commanded a bridge immediately under it, leading over the canal. The garriſon in Fort St. David conſiſted of 1600 natives, Sepoys, Laſcars, and Topaſſes; 619 Europeans, of whom 286 were effective; 83 penſioners or infirm; and 250 were ſeamen, the crews of the Triton and Bridgwater, which had run aſhore on the appearance of the French ſquadron.

Intelligence was obtained on the 15th that the enemy intended on the enſuing night to attack all the poſts on the ſand; on which they were reinforced, to the number of 80 Europeans and 700 Sepoys. At ſun-ſet, the French troops marched from Cuddalore to the garden-houſe, and at nine o'clock from thence in three diviſions, which halted at ſome diſtance from the canal, waiting the ſignal to attack. The diviſion on the right was to force and take poſſeſſion of the gateway oppoſite to the hill of Thevenapatam; the center was to ford the canal, and march againſt Chuckley-point; and the diviſion to the left croſſing the canal where it joins the river Panar, was to come down and ſtorm Patcharee; but the center and the left were not to begin their attack before the right was engaged. The ſignal was made by a rocket at ten o'clock, and at the ſame inſtant a ſtrong fire commenced againſt the fort itſelf, from five guns on the ramparts of Cuddalore, the two on the battery on the bank of the Bandapollam river, and from two heavy mortars on the weſt. This annoyance was intended to diſtract the attention of the garriſon, and ſucceeded, for they returned it with much violence, although with more uncertainty. The diviſion on the right advancing to the attack of the Thevenapatam gateway, was unexpectedly ſtopped by the want of the bridge, which had been deſtroyed, and the canal hereabouts was not fordable; nor could the center diviſion find the ford they expected. The poſts on the ſand were now alarmed, but the two diviſions, nevertheleſs, ſtood on their ground, waiting for intelligence from the diviſion on the left, which was led by the Count D'Eſtaign, who ſoon after ſent word that he had croſſed with eaſe at the head of the canal; on which the center moved up thither, and croſſed after him, whilſt the third diviſion continued before the gateway, to keep the troops there and at Thevenapatam from reinforcing the two points.

They

1758. May.

They were both attacked at the ſame time with numbers ſufficient to aſſault all round at once, and in half an hour both were carried; two officers and all the Europeans were made priſoners, but moſt of the Sepoys ran away. The two diviſions together then marched againſt the battery on the hill of Thevenapatam. This attack commenced at one in the morning, and was reſiſted with much ſpirit until three, when the enemy got poſſeſſion of the battery; where, likewiſe, the Europeans were taken, and the Sepoys eſcaped. The fire from the fort deterred the enemy from continuing at Thevenapatam; and they retired to the two points, which they ſupported with 400 men, ſheltered behind the hillock of Patcharee. None of the Sepoys who had fled returned into the fort, but eſcaped along the ſea-ſhore acroſs the river Panar.

At day-light a detachment from the fort took poſſeſſion of the battery again; on which the enemy immediately reinforced the troops at the points with 5 or 600 men, from the camp at the garden-houſe; which ſufficiently indicated another attack on the battery, and to avoid it the detachment was prudently recalled, together with the guard at the gateway on the canal. At night, the enemy broke ground, carrying on a trench of communication between Chuckley and Patcharee points, and although the exceſſive heat of the weather ought to have referred this ſervice to the night, it continued through the two ſucceeding days, and by the night of the 19th, the work was advanced to the hill of Thevenapatam, extending in the whole 800 yards. Five mortars from the weſt opened at the ſame time as the trenches were begun; but no cannon were fired excepting thoſe on the ramparts of Cuddalore, from which one ſhot on the 18th killed Lieutenant Davis, two ſerjeants, and five black men. On the 20th, the enemy opened another trench leading from the weſt ſide of the hill of Thevenepatam to the gateway on the canal, and repaired the bridge there: they likewiſe eſtabliſhed two twelve pounders amongſt the ruins of ſome fiſhermen's huts on the beach, which commanded the entrance into the river of Tripapolore from admitting any boats from the ſea. Theſe guns were ſheltered from the fort by two hillocks of ſand, but had no communication with the enemy's lines, and

1758. May. and were left to the guard of the artillerymen alone, who being few, the garriſon detached 60 Sepoys and ſome Europeans at 11 the next day, to attack them; but the ſally only produced a little ſkirmiſhing.

By this time, all the black artificers and menials had quitted the fort; and of the whole body of Sepoys, only 200 remained; the want of them laid the ſtrain of duty much heavier on the Europeans; of whom little ſervice was derived from the ſeamen, as not being ſubject to the ſame controul as the ſoldiery. On the 22d, an Engliſh ſhip anchored, and for want of boatmen to carry a letter to her, the fort warned her danger by firing ſhot at her, on which ſhe ſailed out of the road. The enemy continued until the 26th, employed in conſtructing four batteries, and in puſhing on their trenches, which they carried from the hill of Thevenapatam obliquely towards the north-eaſt angle of the glacis; during which, the five mortars to the weſt, and the guns from Cuddalore continued the only annoyance. The fort continued to laviſh away their fire night and day on every thing they ſaw, heard, or ſuſpected; by which 20 carriages of their own guns were diſabled, and the works themſelves ſhaken. About midnight of the 26th, a battery of ſeven guns, added to that of the five mortars to the weſt, was opened, and kept up a conſtant fire. The next night ſome of the ſailors broke open the treaſury, not to take the money, but ſome arrack, with which they got exceedingly drunk, and, according to their regulations, could only be puniſhed by confinement.

By the 30th, the enemy had advanced their trenches to within 200 yards of the glacis; and in the ſame day finiſhed and opened the three other batteries; one of three guns, with five mortars, againſt the angle of the northweſt baſtion; another of ſix guns and four mortars on the hill of Thevenapatam, facing the front of the horn-work; the third of four guns, about 300 yards to the ſouth-eaſt of Thevenapatam, and nearly oppoſite to the angle of the north-eaſt baſtion. The former battery to the weſt continued to enfilade the north face; and the defences on this ſide had already ſuffered ſo much, as well from the ſhock of their own firing, as from the ſhot

and

and ſhells of the enemy, that they could barely return the ſame number of guns; and the encreaſing want of powder left none to ſpare againſt the ſhot from Cuddalore, and the two guns on the bank of the river of Bandapollam. The enemy's bombs had likewiſe ruined the reſervoirs and the only well of good water in the fort, and that in the ditch was too brackiſh to be drunk. 1758. May.

All hopes were now turned to the ſquadron; the garriſon knew by letters, which had eſcaped the enemy, of the ſucceſs of the late engagement, and no conjectures could account for the long delay of their return. Mr. Pococke, as ſoon as he anchored off Sadraſs on the 29th of April, diſpatched a boat with advices to Madraſs, and requeſted, that all the recovered ſeamen in the hoſpital, and as many Laſcars as could be ſpared, might be ſent to reſtore the loſs which had been ſuſtained. About 100 of each were ſent the next day, the Laſcars by land, the ſeamen in maſſoolas. It was ſix days before they got on board; and on the 7th of May the ſquadron weighed; but, proving after three days trial, that they could not advance againſt the wind and current by working in ſhore, they put to ſea, and in fifteen days got to windward of Fort St. David, into the latitude of 9. 30.; but the wind at this time roſe ſo ſtrong from the weſt, that the Cumberland could not bear up againſt it, without encreaſing her leaks ſo much, that it became neceſſary to let her drive; and as the other ſhips were obliged to keep her company, the ſquadron, inſtead of reaching Fort St. David, fell to leeward as far as Alamparvah, where they anchored on the 26th of May. Here they obtained no intelligence, for the place belonged to the French, who ſuffered no boats to go off, and thoſe belonging to ſhips cannot land through the ſurf. The wind having abated, the ſquadron weighed anchor again the ſame day, and plied to the ſouthward with the land and ſea breezes, which were ſo faint, that they only gained four leagues in two days, when on the 28th they diſcovered the French ſquadron at anchor in the road of Pondicherry, which had remained there ever ſince their arrival, waiting the recovery of their ſick and wounded, of which conditions, but principally of the ſick, near a thouſand were incapable of duty. The appearance

1758. May. of the Engliſh ſquadron ſpread no little alarm. Mr. D'Aché immediately convened a council of his captains, with the governor and council of the town, who reſolved, that it was moſt expedient for the ſhips to remain moored as cloſe as poſſible to the ſhore, that they might receive the aſſiſtance of the guns along the ſtrand: but this reſolution was not valid until approved by Mr. Lally; who inſtantly went from the camp to Pondicherry, ordering a detachment of 400 Europeans to follow him as faſt as they could march. He arrived early in the morning of the 30th, convened the uſual council, and tendered the detachment, with the ſame number of Sepoys and Laſcars, to ſerve on board the ſhips, and proteſted againſt the diſgrace of not meeting the Engliſh ſquadron in the open ſea. This reinforcement changed the former reſolution. Mr. Lally returned to the camp in the evening; and the next day Mr. D'Aché, with the eight principal ſhips, now manned with 3300 men, weighed anchor, but, inſtead of bearing down on Mr. Pococke, who could not work up to him, kept the wind, plying for Fort St. David.

The beſiegers during this day kept up an inceſſant fire from 21 pieces of cannon and 13 mortars, which every hour became ſuperior to that of the fort; not for want of mounted artillery, but of ammunition, of which ſuch quantities had been laviſhed away when no adequate effect could be expected, that the garriſon was obliged to ſpare it now, in the hour of need and real uſe. On the firſt of June, the fire continued with ſuch encreaſing ſuperiority, that the ſailors, and even the artillery men, at times, quitted their guns. At noon, the French ſquadron were perceived working towards the road, and by the cloſe of the evening, the enemy had carried on their trenches to the foot of the glacis oppoſite to the ſalient angle of the N.E. baſtion, where they began to erect a battery, and all the embraſures in the fort which commanded this ſpot were ruined, and their guns either diſmounted or withdrawn: ſo that the enemy might ſoon make a lodgement in the covered way; but could get no farther until the ditch was drained or filled up. Nevertheleſs, it was apprehended, that the French ſquadron might

land a great number of men, with whom the troops on ſhore would make a general aſſault, which the garriſon or defences were not deemed in a condition to reſiſt. On which, Major Polier, and Mr. Wynch, the temporary governor, thought it neceſſary to hold a council of war, in which it was unanimouſly decided, that they ought to capitulate on the beſt terms they could make, and articles were prepared: however, the defence was continued through the night, and until ten the next day, in the ſolicitous, but diſappointed expectation of ſeeing the Engliſh ſquadron: a flag of truce was then hoiſted, Major Polier and one of the company's agents went out, and returned at four in the afternoon, with the articles altered by Mr. Lally, which it was agreed to accept. At ſix in the evening, a company of French grenadiers were admitted into the fort, and the garriſon marched with drums and colours to the foot of the glacis, where they grounded their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves and their enſigns to the French line drawn up to receive them. They were, with all convenient ſpeed, conducted to Pondicherry, where it was ſtipulated they ſhould remain, until an equal number of French priſoners were delivered there, when the Engliſh were to be ſent to Madraſs, or Devi Cotah, at the option of Mr. Lally. He rejected the propoſal, that Fort St. David ſhould not be demoliſhed during the war, and, in conſequence of inſtructions from France, immediately ordered all the fortifications to be razed to the ground. The French officers, on contemplating the works, were ſurprized at the facility of their conqueſt, not having loſt twenty men by the fire of the place, although more by ſickneſs, and the ſtrokes of the ſun, in the trenches. The French ſquadron anchored in the road the evening after the ſurrender, when Mr. D'Aché landed and having conferred with Mr. Lally, weighed anchor on the 4th, and ſtood to the ſouthward, in order to cruize off of Ceylon. 1758. June.

The army before Fort St. David conſiſted of 2500 Europeans, excluſive of officers, and about the ſame number of Sepoys. In order to compleat this amount, and to leave in Pondicherry a force ſufficient to make head againſt any motions from Madraſs, Mr. Lally had drained all the out-poſts and garriſons in the Car-

1758. June. natic, to a fourth of their ordinary guards; and had recalled the whole garriſon of Seringham, having agreed to deliver over this place to the brother of Hydernaig, who arrived with a party of Myſoreans from Dindigul, and took poſſeſſion of it on the 17th of May, when the French troops marched away for Fort St. David. They conſiſted of 100 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys: but one half of the Sepoys deſerted on the road, for fear of the unuſual ſervices to which they heard thoſe in the camp were applied: having for the firſt time been employed in throwing up earth in the trenches; on which the reſt, with the Europeans, were ordered to halt at Chilambarum, where they were joined during the ſiege by 200 Europeans from the camp. This force was intended to ſuccour Karical, in caſe the Engliſh ſquadron ſhould make a deſcent there. As ſoon as Fort St. David capitulated, Mr. D'Eſtaign was detached, with ſome more troops and cannon, to join, and proceed with them againſt Devi Cotah; but this officer, on good intelligence, left the cannon at Chilambrum, and on the 4th appeared with the troops before Devi Cotah, which the garriſon abandoned on his approach. It conſiſted of 30 Europeans, and 600 Sepoys; they marched away through the Tanjore country to Tritchinopoly.

As ſoon as Devi Cotah was taken, the army returned with all expedition from Fort St. David to Pondicherry, and on the evening of the 7th, Mr. Lally made a triumphant entry, which had been concerted, into the town, and proceeded to a magnificent *Te Deum*, which was followed by a ſumptuous entertainment; immediately after which, he renewed his bickerings with Mr. Deleyrit and the Council, becauſe the public treaſure was almoſt exhauſted; not without accuſations that they had diverted it to their own emoluments.

The Engliſh ſquadron ſaw the French ſet ſail from the road of Pondicherry; but, kept back by the Cumberland, loſt, inſtead of gaining ground, and fell to leeward again as far as Alamparva, off of which place, Mr. Pococke received on the 5th a letter, diſpatched by the Engliſh agent at Sadraſs, informing him of the loſs of Fort St. David. At this time, the ſquadron had not more than

five

five days conſumption of water on board: and the only port to the ſouthward, where it could be ſupplied with ſufficient expedition, was the Dutch ſettlement of Negapatam; which, being 100 miles to windward, they were not likely to reach in leſs than 10 days; Mr. Pococke, therefore, bore away, and anchored the next day in the road of Madraſs. 1758. June.

Abdulwahab, the Nabob's brother, on the return of his troops from Terpatore, where Armetrow was killed in February, had paraded them again about Chandergherry in the ſame hopes as before of intimidating the renter of Tripetti; but, ſtill continuing himſelf afraid of the Engliſh Sepoys ſtationed at Trepaſſore, refrained from hoſtilities, and tried profers of money, which the renters refuſed, and adviſed him to a reconciliation with his brother. The poſſeſſion of Tripetti had always been the object of every adventurer who ſaw any chance of ſucceſs; becauſe its revenue, equal to 30,000 pounds a year, ariſing from the contributions of devotion, is always more certain than that of any harveſt in the Carnatic; and the acquiſition was ſoon after attempted with more earneſtneſs than the ſchemes of Abdulwahab. Before the departure of Balaventrow from the country of Cudapah, two officers of diſtinction, named Ragava cherry and Balakiſſen Sauſtry, arrived with a commiſſion from Balagerow, to ſuperintend the chout or tribute to the Morratoes from the Carnatic; in conſequence of which they aſked Balaventrow for a body of troops to proceed by military execution. He refuſed, alledging, that he had already ſettled this buſineſs with the Nabob of Arcot, who had given no new occaſion of offence; and on his departure to Sirpi, inſtructed his ſucceſſor not to permit any hoſtilities. The two officers, diſappointed, levied 500 horſe and 1000 foot, of thoſe who had been in the ſervice of the late Nabob of Cudapah, but diſbanded after his death; and proceeded with them to the country of the Polygar of Mattavar, which extends along the river *Kandeler* to the N.W. of the diſtricts of Tripetti, and a part inſerts itſelf between the counties of Damerla Venkatipy Naigue, and Bangar Yatcham, as far as a paſs in the mountains called Cara Canambaca, which is within twenty miles of the

1758. June. pagoda. The renter poſted 7 or 800 peons in the paſs, who kept the adventurers and their force at bay, although joined by the troops of Mattavar, until the beginning of May; when they forced their way through; and, on the 5th, attacked the town of Tripetti, where the renter ſtood his ground, with only 300 Sepoys and 500 Peons; but had ſecured them under the cover of garden-walls from the impreſſion of the enemy's horſe, when Ragavacherry expoſing himſelf intemperately in endeavouring to encourage them, was ſhot dead, on which all his followers ran away, although only 10 men, beſides himſelf, had been killed: he fell near the place where Mahomed Comaul was killed, five years before, in the ſame attempt.

This was the only event of any riſque, which had happened in the Nabob's territory, ſince the arrival of Mr. Lally; for the great draughts of men which had been made from the French forts on the frontier to carry on the ſiege of St. David, had reduced their garriſons to the incapacity of attempting any thing beyond tranſitory excurſions to plunder. But the Engliſh preſidency now concluding that the French army would march againſt Madraſs immediately after their ſucceſs at St. David, delayed no longer to give their final orders for the retreat of their own garriſons with the dependant out-guards, from Carangoly, Chinglapet, Conjeveram, Covrepauk, and Arcot, which had previouſly ſent in their artillery and ſtores, reſerving only as much muſket-ammunition as was neceſſary for the march. Arcot and Covrepauk were delivered to the Nabob's troops, of which a body were remaining in the city; Conjeveram and Chinglapet to the peons of the reſpective renters; and the partizan Murzafabeg, leaving only a few of his men in Trivatore, went with the reſt into Carangoly. The Engliſh garriſons having united at Chinglapet, came together on the 7th of June, the day after the return of the ſquadron: they amounted to 250 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys; but the garriſons of Pondamelee and Tripaſſore, conſiſting only of Sepoys, were not withdrawn, becauſe they protected a valuable diſtrict from the incurſions of the adjacent Polygars, and might at all times retire to Madraſs, before any detachment from the French ſtations on the other ſide of the

Paliar, could arrive to cut off their retreat. Frequent debates had been held in the council concerning the expediency of withdrawing the garriſon of Tritchinopoly, which it was reſolved to poſtpone until the laſt extremity; but in the interval the commandant Mahomed Iſſoof was ordered, after leaving a ſufficient force in Palamcotah, to move towards Madura, and even to march to Tritchinopoly itſelf on the firſt ſummons from Captain Calliaud. This officer, on the 16th of May, the day after the French garriſon had quitted the pagoda of Seringham to the Myſoreans, ſummoned them to ſurrender it, and detached his ſecond, Captain Joſeph Smith, with a party, to take poſt in Jumbakiſtna. The Myſoreans replied by firing cannon from Seringham againſt this place, which were anſwered the next day by a bombardment from two mortars; and in the enſuing night they abandoned Seringham, leaving a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores, and eight pieces of cannon, which the French had left to them: they returned from whence they came, to Dindigul. Calliaud immediately took poſſeſſion of the pagoda, and garriſoned it with 500 Sepoys. 1758. June.

Mr. Lally, notwithſtanding his wrangles, conſulted Mr. Deleyrit and the jeſuit Lavaur concerning the future operations of the field. Madraſs ſeemed the immediate and moſt important temptation; for, notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions, many of the eſſential parts of its fortifications ſtill remained incompleat; and the defence of Fort St. David had raiſed in Mr. Lally a contemptible opinion of the Engliſh troops in India: but Pondicherry could not immediately furniſh money to ſupport the campaign, nor means to tranſport by land the vaſt quantity of artillery and ſtores neceſſary for the ſiege, which could not be conveyed with any certainty in the ſhips of the French ſquadron, whilſt the Engliſh kept the ſea. The Nabob's country to the north of Chittapett and Vandiwaſh, by the retreat of the Engliſh garriſons, preſented a much eaſier conqueſt, and the chance of no inconſiderable revenue, with the advantage of preſſing Madraſs itſelf by a variety of diſtreſſes; but Mr. Lally could not brook the ſlow, although certain means of collecting money, which would have ariſen from this expedition. Yielding therefore to the advice

1758. June. advice of father Lavaur, he preferred another, from which they expected to get more, with equal eaſe, in a much ſhorter time.

The king of Tanjore, when beſieged by the army of Murzafajing and Chundaſaheb with the French troops in 1751, had compounded the arrears of his tribute, and had given Chundaſaheb a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, before the approach of Nazirjing's army obliged them to retreat out of his country; the bond was in the poſſeſſion of the government of Pondicherry; and an incident in the capture of Fort St. David concurred to ſuggeſt the expediency of marching into the Tanjore country, and demanding this money ſword in hand. The French had found in Fort St. David a priſoner of greater conſequence than they expected: his name was Gatica: he was uncle to the depoſed king of Tanjore, whoſe pretenſions the Engliſh aſſerted in 1749, when they entered the country, and took Devi Cotah. The king then and now reigning, when he ceded this place to them in propriety, ſtipulated by a ſecret article, that they ſhould prevent this pretender from giving him any moleſtation in future; to enſure which, it was neceſſary to ſecure his perſon; but he withdrew himſelf out of their reach; however, being in poſſeſſion of his uncle, who was the leading man of the party, and had entirely managed his nephew, they detained him a priſoner, but under an eaſy confinement, within the fort, where he remained until fated by the fall of the place to be employed by the French, with the ſame views as nine years before by the Engliſh: and Gatica was now produced at Pondicherry with much oſtentation and ceremony, in order to excite the apprehenſions of the king, that the pretender himſelf would appear and accompany the French army, whom nevertheleſs they did not proclaim in his ſtead.

How much ſoever Mr. Lally agreed in the preference of this expedition, he differed even to animoſity both with Mr. Deleyrit and the Jeſuit in another meaſure of ſtill greater importance. He had brought from France the ſtrongeſt prejudices againſt the character of Mr. Buſſy, whom he believed to have continually amuſed his nation with phantoms of public utility and danger, in order to ſecure the continuance of his ſtation, in which he was ſuppoſed to have al-

ready gained an immenſe fortune: a few days after he landed, he had ſent the Marquis of Conflans to act as ſecond in the army of the Decan; but now, thinking that the capture of Fort St. David had eſtabliſhed his own reputation beyond the imputation of jealouſy, he diſpatched a letter to Mr. Buſſy, to come without delay to Pondicherry, pretending that he wanted his advice; and, ſuſpicious of the intimacy which had always ſubſiſted between Moracin and Mr. Buſſy, he likewiſe, and on the ſame pretence, recalled Moracin from the government of Maſulipatam. 1758. June.

Six hundred men of Mr. Lally's regiment, with 200 Sepoys, under the command of Mr. Soupire, formed a camp of obſervation between Alamparva and Pondicherry: only 50 able, with the invalids of the army, were to be left in the town; and, to calm the apprehenſions which were entertained by the inhabitants, of a ſudden deſcent from the Engliſh ſquadron, it was reſolved to recall their own under the walls. The injunction reached Mr. D'Aché off Karical on the 16th; and he anchored the next day in the road of Pondicherry. On the 18th Mr. Lally took the field, but, as before, unprovided with the neceſſary attendants, bullock-men, and market-people; for the unuſual compulſions, which had been practiſed during the ſiege of Fort St. David, deterred the natives of ſuch occupations from engaging in the ſervices of the camp; and the inhabitants of the country removed their cattle, from dread of the Huſſars, who had been permitted to drive in what were neceſſary for the victualing of the army, without paying the value. The march between Pondicherry and Karical, where the troops were to rendezvous, is interſected by no leſs than ſixteen rivers; ſix before you arrive at the Coleroon, which are generally fordable, excepting in the rains, but the Coleroon is never ſo; the others, as all in the kingdom of Tanjore, are arms of the Caveri, moſt of which near the ſea change their extenſive ſurfaces on beds of ſand into deep channels of mud, which, even when fordable, cannot be entered without much toil and trouble; to avoid which, ſuch of the heavy artillery, and cumbrous ſtores as were not to be ſupplied at Karical, were ſent in two veſſels by ſea. Notwithſtanding this relief, the troops gained their

1758. June. their way with much inconvenience. The regiment of Lorrain left their tents at Cuddalore, for want of bullocks and coolies to carry them. The whole army had been 12 hours without food when they arrived at Devi Cotah, and, contrary to their expectation, found none there excepting paddy, which is the grain of rice before it is diveſted of its huſk, in which ſtate it is only fit for the food of cattle; but the operation is tedious, and requires the implements uſed by the natives; and the ſoldiers, hungry and fatigued, having ſearched the huts in the fort for other victuals without finding any, ſet fire to them, which was with much difficulty prevented from catching two magazines of gunpowder.

The troops, after ſeven days march, arrived at Karical on the 25th. The diſtance from Pondicherry, although only 75 miles in the direct line, is 100 by the road; and here, for the firſt time during the march, they got a regular meal. Here a bramin, ſent by the king of Tanjore with propoſals, was waiting for Mr. Lally, who ſent him back with his own, demanding immediate payment of the five millions and ſix hundred thouſand rupees, with all the intereſt: and, to convince the king that he would derive no benefit from the uſual delays and prevarications of Indian negotiations, he immediately ſent forward a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the opulent town of Nagore.

This place is ſituated on a river about four miles to the north of Negapatam, and carries on a very conſiderable commerce; but the merchants had removed their money and jewels, and offered little for the redemption of their warehouſes; on which Mr. Lally farmed out the plunder and ranſom of the town for 200,000 rupees to Fiſcher the commander of the French huſſars, ſtipulating, that, if the profit exceeded 100,000 rupees, a proportional addition was to be made to the public fund. Hitherto the conduct of Mr. Lally had been free from the reproach of thoſe pecuniary views, which he continually imputed without diſtinction to every one in the ſervice of the French company; but this agreement gave them no ſlight pretence to retort peculation on himſelf, as going ſhares with Fiſcher in the profits of Nagore. Whilſt this buſineſs was tranſacting, he applied to the Dutch

Dutch government at Negapatam to ſupply his wants of money, ammunition, and proviſions; who, awed by his force, furniſhed him with 20,000 pounds weight of gunpowder, and promiſed to aſſiſt his commiſſaries in purchaſing whatſoever their territory could ſupply, but declared themſelves unable to lend any money, not having enough for their own uſe. The Daniſh ſettlement of Tranquebar, from the ſame dread of his violences, promiſed the ſame aſſiſtances, and furniſhed ſix ſmall field-pieces with 10,000 weight of gun-powder. 1758. June.

The army marched from Nagore on the 28th, and, having proceeded ſix miles, halted at a conſiderable pagoda called Kiveloor; where Mr. Lally, believing the report of thoſe who meant only to pleaſe him, imagined the bramins to be very rich, and that the images they worſhipped were of gold; in this perſuaſion, he ranſacked and dug the houſes, dragged the tanks, and took the idols out of the chapels, but no treaſures were found; and the idols proved to be only of braſs. The bramin returning from the king met Mr. Lally at Kiveloor, and offered the uſual complimentary preſents, but no terms of accommodation adequate to Mr. Lally's expectations, who therefore diſmiſſed him without accepting the preſents, and the next day marched ten miles farther to Trivalore, where ſtands the moſt famous pagoda in the country. Here the army found as much paddy laid up in granaries as would have ſupplied them with rice for three months, but for want of the means to beat it out, could ſcarcely procure from it ſufficient for the meal of the day. All the bramins had abandoned the pagoda, but ſome were afterwards diſcovered prying and aſking queſtions in the camp, probably from anxiety concerning their temples and divinities; but Mr. Lally judged them to be ſpies employed by the king, and raſhly ordered ſix of them to be executed, who were blown off from the muzzles of the field-pieces. July.

As ſoon as the French troops arrived at Karikal, the general Monacjee advanced from the city of Tanjore and encamped within ten miles of Trivalore, with 2500 horſe, and 5000 Sepoys diſciplined as well as they could be without the direction of Europeans. This was half the force of the kingdom. The king on the firſt alarm had ſolicited aid from the Nabob, the Engliſh preſidency, Tritchinopoly, from

1758. July. Tondiman, and even from the two Moravars, although he was at this very time in enmity with all the three Polygars. The preſidency and the Nabob were in no condition to ſend any aſſiſtance from the Carnatic, but they authorized Captain Calliaud to act as occaſion might require from Tritchinopoly, where the commandant Mahomed Iſſoof, in obedience to the orders ſent to him on the firſt appearance of the French ſquadron, arrived on the 16th of June with 2000 Sepoys from the Tinivelly country. This reinforcement enabled Calliaud to ſuccour the king without too much impairing his own garriſon; but the continual and authentic intelligence which he obtained of the duplicity of the king's councils, created no little perplexity in the option between ſending ſuccours which might be betrayed to the enemy: or by with-holding them give the king a pretext to make terms with them, which in this conjuncture muſt be dangerous to the Engliſh affairs: he however, at all riſques, as ſoon as he heard the French army were in motion from Nagore, detached 500 Sepoys with 10 European artillery-men, and 300 Colleries collected from the neighbouring Polygars dependant on Tritchinopoly, deeming this reinforcement in the preſent inſtant ſufficient to keep up the king's hope of more; and waiting to aſſiſt him hereafter, according to his conduct with the enemy, which he cauſed to be narrowly watched. The exhortations of the preſidency had likewiſe induced Tondiman and the two Moravars to ſuſpend their reſentments ſo far as to let their Colleries alſo take ſervice with the king, who hired 4000 of them; and they were ſent, as they arrived, to Monacjee's camp, as were afterwards thoſe ſupplied by Calliaud. The French army remained at Trivalore until the 12th of July, during which their cavalry ſwept the country round of all the cattle, of which Mr. Lally ſent large droves to be ſold at the towns on the ſea-coaſt; which precaution was imputed to him as a project of private gain; but not much was got by it, for Monacjee had detached his Colleries to maraud in the rear of the French army, who cut off every thing which moved to and from the camp with ſlender eſcorts, and recovered great numbers of the cattle, which they too drove away, and ſold for the loweſt prices to any who would buy them. However,

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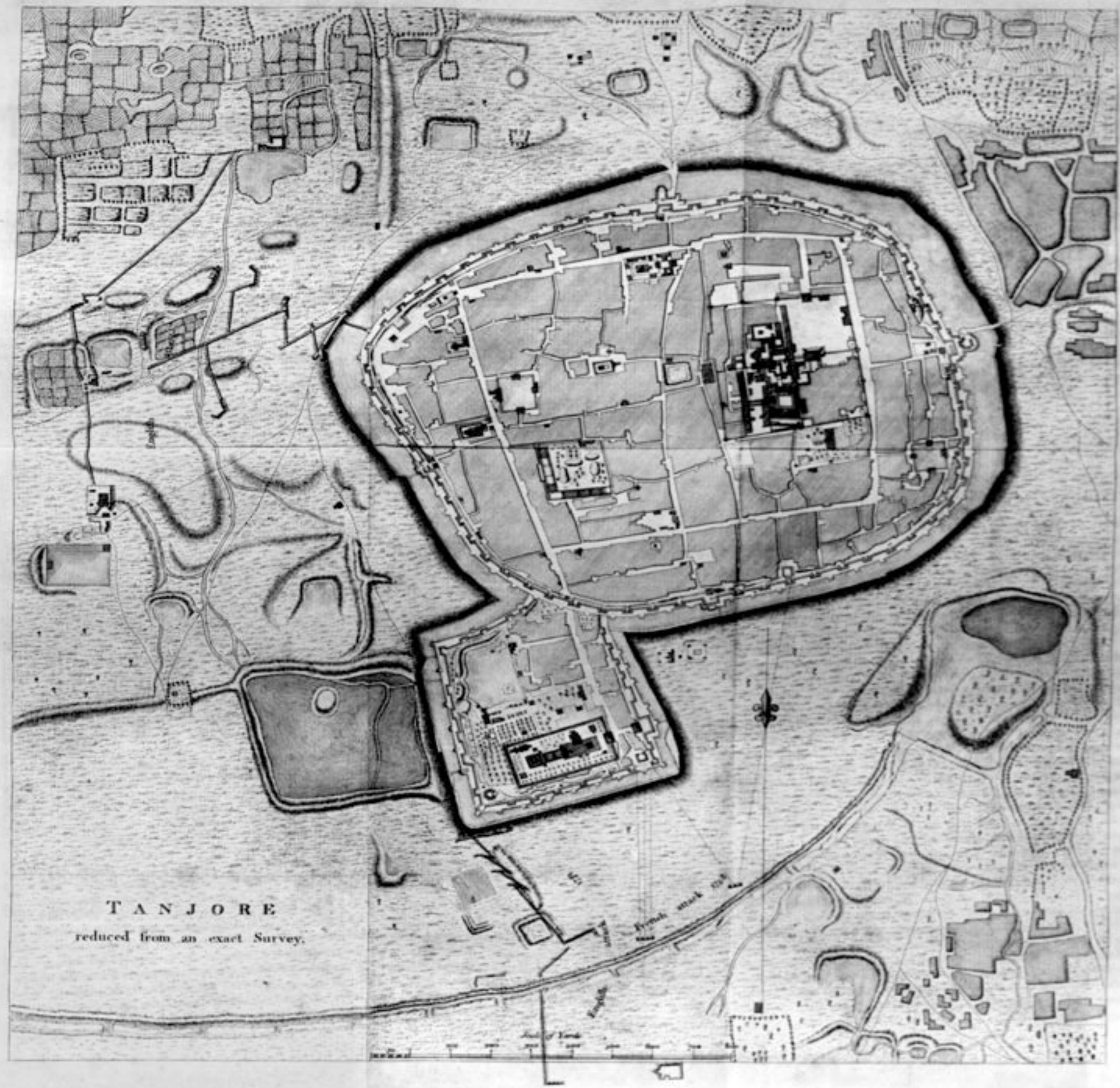
TANJORE
reduced from an exact Survey.

ſome of the Colleries were killed, and all who were taken priſoners Mr. Lally ordered to be linked to draw the guns, which did not deter the others from repeating their attacks, wherever booty appeared, or even from inſulting the camp itſelf every night with their rockets. On the 24th, the army came in ſight of Monacjee's, drawn up in good order behind a water-courſe, from which the Tanjorines were ſoon driven by the fire of the French artillery, and retreated towards the city, but ſtill continued without the walls. 1758. July.

The French army arrived within ſix miles of the city on the 18th in the morning, when a meſſage was received from the king, deſiring a conference with perſons authorized to treat; on which Mr. Lally halted the army, and ſent in a captain, Maudave, and a Jeſuit, St. Eſtevan. They inſiſted on the firſt demand of 5,600,000 rupees, with the intereſt: the king offered 300,000: the deputies returned, and were ſent back again with the demand of one million in money, 600 bullocks for the carriage of the artillery and ſtores, and 10,000 pounds weight of gunpowder; but this article the deputies wiſely agreed to ſuppreſs, as expoſing the diſtreſs of the army: the king ſeemed inclined to add ſomething to his firſt offer of money, but ſaid, that the ſupply or ſale of beeves to thoſe of a different religion was contrary to his own; the deputies returned again to the camp, and the next morning to the city, with poſitive orders to inſiſt on the gunpowder, which when they propoſed to Monacjee in a conference before they were to viſit the king, he exclaimed with indignation, that all negotiation was at an end, and that he ſhould not introduce to his maſter men who were only ſent to inſult him. The deputies returned without delay to the camp, which immediately moved, and in the evening took poſſeſſion of the pettah, or ſuburbs, which at this time extended along the eaſtern ſide of the city; the artillery, of which only two were battering cannon, and the cohorns and howitzes, for the army had brought no mortars, fired during the night at the pagodas and other edifices which aroſe above the walls; and this was all the annoyance they could uſe at preſent, ſince the two pieces of battering cannon could not be expoſed againſt the ſuperior fire of the town, without more to cover them; a de-

1758. July. tachment was therefore ſent to bring up three twenty-four pounders from Karical, which were all that this place could ſpare, and the two veſſels laden with the cannon and mortars from Pondicherry were ſtill far to leeward: ſeveral other detachments, which all together employed half the infantry and all the cavalry of the army, were at the ſame time ſent abroad to bring in the cattle of the adjacent country; and a body of Colleries, who had probably deſerted from the Tanjorines, were likewiſe hired for the ſame employment. The abundance was much greater than the conſumption; and the ſurplus were driven away as before to be ſold on the ſea-coaſt. The vaſt detriment which the country was likely to ſuffer by the continuance of theſe deſolations induced the king to renew the negociation on the 22d, and the next day he paid 50,000 rupees; and the jeſuit St. Eſtevan, with Kenedy a lieutenant-colonel, were ſent to remain as hoſtages for the re-payment of the money, in caſe a treaty ſhould not be concluded, and hoſtilities be renewed. But the Colleries in the French army could not be reſtrained from continuing their depredations, which the Tanjorine horſe revenged, by giving no quarter to any they fell in with: quarrels likewiſe enſued with the market people and dealers, who, with the king's permiſſion, came from the city to ſell proviſions and other neceſſaries in the camp; and the diſcuſſions of theſe broils and violences interrupted the more important negotiation until the arrival of the three pieces of cannon from Karical, which came up on the 29th; and Mr. Lally, having at this time received intelligence, that the king was preſſing the Engliſh at Tritchinopoly to ſend another and ſtronger reinforcement, reſolved to renew hoſtilities, although his hoſtages ſtill remained in the power of the king, who, frightened by the arrival of the cannon, conferred in earneſt, and concluded the treaty, of which the terms were founded on Mr. Lally's declarations, that he intended to march immediately from Tanjore againſt Tritchinopoly; for which ſervice the king agreed to lend 300 of his beſt horſe, to furniſh 1000 coolies and mattock-men, and to ſupply the army with proviſions during the ſiege; to deliver two reſpectable hoſtages, and to give in money 500,000 rupees, of which 200,000

were

were to be paid as ſoon as the army removed ten miles from Tanjore, 150,000 were to be ſent with the two French hoſtages as ſoon as it arrived before Tritchinopoly, and the remaining 150,000 were to be paid after the ſiege, when the king's hoſtages were to be ſurrendered, and the cavalry returned. The contingencies involved in theſe terms ſhewed, that neither ſide had much expectation they would be compleatly executed, and Mr. Lally ſeems to have accepted them, only becauſe he ſhould get ſome money in hand; the king becauſe ſome chance might ſave the reſt. Two hundred of the coolies were ſent to the camp during the diſcuſſion of the articles, which were not intirely adjuſted until late in the evening of the 31ſt, when Mr. Dubois the commiſſary of the army, who had conducted the negotiation in the city, returned to the camp, accompanied by the two Tanjorine hoſtages, and 40 of the cavalry, being all, it was ſaid, who were immediately ready; the delay of the reſt confirmed Mr. Lally in his ſuſpicions that the king meant only to amuſe him, and induced him to ſhut up thoſe who were come in a pagoda near the encampment: they not knowing what to ſuſpect from this treatment, dreaded the worſt, and ſent information to the city, in conſequence of which the king ſtopped the reſt of the cavalry; and his coolies in the camp being frightened by the rumours concerning the horſemen in the pagoda, run away in the night. The next morning Mr. Lally ſent Dubois to reproach the king and Monacjee for their ſuppoſed breach of faith, who retorted their own ſuſpicions, and this altercation producing the real ſtate of the miſtakes, Dubois proferred to bring back one of the Tanjorine hoſtages as a conviction of ſecurity to the cavalry which had remained behind, who were then to proceed to the camp. But Mr. Lally regarded this ſtipulation as an indignity, and a confirmation of the king's inſincerity, and ſummoned his council of war, who conformably to his expoſition were unanimouſly of opinion that no reliance could be had on any profeſſions of peace, and that it was neceſſary to attack the city without delay, and with the utmoſt vigour. In conſequence of this reſolution, Mr. Lally wrote a letter to colonel Kenedy, ordering him to denounce the utmoſt vengeance not

1758. July. August.

1758. Auguſt. not only on the country and city of Tanjore, but likewiſe on the king and his whole family, whom he threatened to carry as ſlaves to the iſland of Mauritius. In the evening the army moved from the ſuburbs, and formed a regular camp about a mile and a half to the ſouth-eaſt of the town.

The expreſſions in Mr. Lally's letter to Kenedy, determined the king, who had hitherto fluctuated in irreſolution, to defend himſelf to extremity, and he now repeated his ſolicitations with the utmoſt earneſtneſs for aſſiſtance from Tritchinopoly. Captain Calliaud, by the accounts he continually received of the king's negotiations, had hitherto thought it unſafe to truſt any more troops in his power, whilſt making engagements to aſſiſt the French in the reduction of Tritchinopoly: but, being convinced by this laſt rupture, that he had renounced all deſigns of accord or reconciliation with them, detached on the 6th of Auguſt 500 of his beſt Sepoys, with two excellent ſerjeants and 27 cannoneers, who in order to avoid the encounter of the French troops, proceeded in a round-about road along the bank of the Coleroon.

A deep water-courſe, running within 400 yards parallel to the ſouth ſide of the city, furniſhing a much more commodious trench than any which are opened in ſieges, determined Mr. Lally to make the attack under the advantage of this cover. The ſouth face of the city is much the narroweſt aſpect, extending only 480 yards. Two batteries were erected on the nether edge of the water-courſe, the one of three guns oppoſite to the middle of the face, but turned to breach between the cavalier of the eaſtern angle and the next tower. The other, of two guns, was 200 yards to the right.

Both opened on the 2d of Auguſt. It was the 7th in the evening, after five days firing, before the batteries had produced a breach ſix feet wide: but by this time there remained only 150 charges of powder for the cannon, and not 20 cartouches a man for the troops; and, notwithſtanding the numbers of cattle which had been ſeized, there were not proviſions for two days remaining in the camp, and the great diſtance from

from which any could be procured through the perpetual interruptions of the Tanjorine cavalry and colleries, precluded the hopes of any immediate ſupplies. On the 8th in the morning advices were received, that another engagement had paſſed between the two ſquadrons, immediately after which, the Engliſh anchored before Karical, where they were threatening a deſcent; but that no tidings had been obtained concerning the French ſquadron ſince the fight. This intelligence aggravated the general anxiety, as the diſtreſſes of the army in their preſent ſituation, could only be relieved from Karical; and Mr. Lally deſpairing of ſucceeding in the aſſault of the breach, ſummoned his council of war, in which, of 12 officers 10 were of opinion to raiſe the ſiege; but two, Saubinet, and Mr. D'Eſtaigne, adviſed the immediate aſſault, the ſucceſs of which appeared to D'Eſtaigne indubitable; who added, that the city would furniſh more ammunition than would be expended in the ſtorm, and that he had no apprehenſions the Engliſh would make a deſcent upon Karical, whilſt the French ſquadron kept the ſea. Doubtleſs both D'Eſtaigne and Saubinet knew the ditch was fordable, when they adviſed the aſſault; otherwiſe, in the ſtate we have known it ſince, the approach would have been utterly impracticable. In conſequence of the reſolution to retreat, the ſick and wounded were ſent away on the ſame day under the eſcort of 150 Europeans, and diſpoſitions were made to decamp on the night of the enſuing day, which was the 10th of the month; in the mean time the guns in the batteries were fired every now and then in order to keep the garriſon in awe. 1758. Auguſt.

Monacjee ſoon received intelligence of the reſolution to raiſe the ſiege, and imputed it to deſpondency; the detachment from Tritchinopoly arrived in the middle of the ſame night, and he propoſed that they ſhould march immediately with his own troops to attack the French camp by ſurprize, conformably to a ſcheme for which he had taken meaſures; but they were ſo much fatigued, that he deferred the enterprize for 24 hours, until the morning of the 10th, during which the camp received no intelligence of this deſign, but remained in negligence and ſecurity, as before an enemy they deſpiſed, and ſuppoſed wiſhing their retreat too much to interrupt it.

1758. August. After midnight 4000 cavalry, led by Monacjee himſelf, the two detachments from Tritchinopoly, conſiſting of 1000 Sepoys and 50 Europeans, with 5000 of the king's Sepoys, and all the Colleries, marched out of the city, and keeping at a ſufficient diſtance, arrived at the different poſts from which they were to make their attacks, and remained in them, undiſcovered. At the firſt dawn of day, 50 horſemen appeared advancing, as from the city, at a leiſurely pace, towards the camp; they were challenged by the advanced guard, and ſaid they were come to offer their ſervice to the French general, to whom they requeſted to be conducted; and no danger being apprehended from their number, a party from the guard accompanied them towards Mr. Lally's quarters, who ſlept in a choultry about half a mile in the rear, but to the left of the camp. When within 100 yards, the troop halted and their leader went forward, and Mr. Lally having perceived their arrival, aroſe and came out of the choultry to ſpeak to him; but before they met, one of the horſemen, who it is ſuppoſed was intoxicated with opium, left his rank, and galloped up to a tumbril at ſome diſtance, into which he fired his piſtol, and a ſpark of the wad blew it up and the man; the exploſion gave the alarm through the camp; and the guard at the choultry, which conſiſted of 50 men, immediately advanced to protect Mr. Lally. In the ſame inſtant the captain of the troop, who had not diſmounted, puſhed forward towards him, and made a cut at his head with his ſcymetar, which Mr. Lally parried with his ſtick, and a Coffree ſervant who attended him ſhot the Tanjorine dead with a piſtol; the whole troop had now ſet off at full-gallop to charge the guard, who received them in regular order, and with a fire of ſuch execution as ſtopt all except two or three from breaking through them; thoſe, however, who remained on horſeback, joined again and endeavoured to make a ſecond charge, but in ſo much confuſion, that the ſecond fire of the guard put them to flight with the utmoſt precipitation; and moſt of them galloped into a tank, which they did not perceive time enough to avoid: but twenty-eight were left dead in the ſpace of thirty yards; Mr. Lally himſelf was trampled down and ſtunned in the ſcuffle, but only two of his guard were killed. Whilſt the troops in the camp were getting

A View of TANJORE *from the West.*

ting under arms and expecting a general attack from the quarter where the firſt alarm had been given, the great body of Colleries were diſcovered advancing with their lances and rockets in the rear, 3000 horſe at the ſame time in the front, and the whole body of Sepoys, with 1000 more horſe on the right: much confuſion and trepidation prevailed in every part of the camp for near an hour, but the troops were recalled to their wonted ſteadineſs and diſcipline, by the example and activity of Saubinet and the Count D'Eſtaigne: the Engliſh Sepoys penetrated amongſt the tents, and had ſeized three field-pieces, which they were obliged to abandon, after having 75 of their body killed and wounded in endeavouring to carry them off; they, however, brought away an elephant and two camels. The French ſuppoſe that 400 of the enemy were killed, and allow their own loſs to be no more than 10, which is improbable. It does not appear that any attack was made on the two batteries in the water-courſe, although it ſhould ſeem that the troops on duty there were the moſt expoſed. 1758. Auguſt.

As ſoon as the Tanjorines had retired, the French army continued their preparations to decamp during the enſuing night; and, for want of draft and carriage-bullocks, ſpiked and diſmounted the five pieces of battering cannon, threw the ſhot into wells, and deſtroyed as much of the baggage as time and means permitted. At midnight the whole were in motion, marching in two lines, with an interval between, which was occupied by palanquins, baggage, tumbrills, and other carriages; two field-pieces were in the front, rear, and on each ſide of the lines. Monacjee, with all his cavalry and a large body of Sepoys, was abroad, and ſeveral times obliged the march to halt, and recur to their field-pieces; the Colleries threw rockets, but diſappeared at the approach of day. But the reſt of the Tanjorine army continued, as during the night, to follow and hover round until noon; when the French troops arrived and halted at Covilonil, 15 miles from Tanjore: the road was without a ſingle pond or ſtream until they came to the town; when nothing could with-hold the troops and animals of the army from breaking their ranks and reſtraints to gain the firſt water they ſaw. The next day they reached Trivalore; this march was 20 miles, and more fatiguing than the former, having two

1758. August. rivers to paſs, over which the artillery and carriages were tranſported with much difficulty; but the enemy, inſtead of taking the advantage, diſcontinued the purſuit before they arrived at the firſt: during the whole march the troops had no other food than the coco-nuts they gathered on the way, of which many got none; however, they found at Trivalore ſome proviſions ſent from Karical; but all were ſo exhauſted and fatigued, that they could not proceed any farther until they had been allowed three days refreſhment and repoſe. On the road Mr. Lally received information that the French ſquadron was at Pondicherry, and that Mr. D'Aché had ſignified to the council there his determination to return without delay to the Iſle of France; on which he immediately diſpatched the Count D'Eſtaigne with the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances to ſtop him. On the 18th the army arrived at Karical, and ſaw the Engliſh ſquadron at anchor off the mouth of the river.

Many wants and inſufficient means had detained the ſquadron near eight weeks in the road of Madraſs after their unſucceſsful endeavours to reach Fort St. David during the ſiege. On the third of July, three of the company's ſhips arrived in the road; they had left England in the preceding year, but not arriving in the bay, until the northern monſoon was ſetting in, proceeded to Bengal; from whence they were diſpatched in April with money, merchandize, and ſtores, but without any of the recruits they brought from England, or any troops in return for thoſe which had been ſent with Clive. The ſouthern monſoon, which had begun when they ſailed, obliged them to make the outward paſſage towards Achin, and they came in from the ſouthward to Negapatam: in conſequence of the intelligence they received at this place, they put out again to ſea and kept out of ſight of land until they ſtood in for Madraſs. Chance always maintains its ſhare in all events. Had not the unneceſſary anxiety of the council at Pondicherry recalled Mr. D'Aché's ſquadron from Karical in the middle of June, but permitted him to have continued the cruize he intended, theſe ſhips would have been taken, and would have ſupplied the want of money, which had been the principal cauſe of the fruitleſs

fruitleſs and diſgraceful expedition to Tanjore. It was the 25th of July before the Engliſh ſquadron was ſufficiently equipped to ſail, and on the 27th they appeared in ſight of Pondicherry, where the French ſquadron lay at anchor, and with much hurry got under ſail before night. The next morning the two ſquadrons were out of ſight of each other: on the 29th, the French anchored at Karical; on the 31ſt, at day-break, they ſailed for Negapatam, and at nine again ſaw the Engliſh ſquadron; but the wind blowing freſh, the three ſmaller of the French ſhips could not work their lower tier, on which Mr. D'Aché tacked and ſtood away, and the next day again ſaw nothing of the Engliſh. The day after, the 2d of Auguſt, they anchored again at Karical, where Mr. D'Aché received intelligence, which was not true, that Mr. Lally had been defeated before Tanjore; and, what was much leſs probable, that the Engliſh ſquadron intended to diſembark a great part of their men, in order to cut off the retreat of the French army to Pondicherry. At two in the morning lights appeared in the offing, on which the French ſquadron got under way, and plying to windward perceived the Engliſh at day-break out at ſea, about four miles to leeward of them. Both ſquadrons immediately formed their lines, and Mr. Pococke perceiving the ſhip which led the enemy's van (it was the Count de Provence) to be the ſtouteſt next their Admiral, ordered the Elizabeth, Admiral Stevens, to take the ſame ſtation in his own line, inſtead of the Tyger, to which, as in the laſt engagement, it had been alloted. The land-wind blowing from the S. W. the Engliſh line ſtretched with their heads to the S. S. E. At eleven o'clock the wind where they were, died away, and left them quite becalmed. But the enemy continued to have a light breeze from the land, with which they ſtood on, their line extending Eaſt and Weſt, and paſſed the rear of the Engliſh line nearly at right angles, without firing a ſingle ſhot, although they had the faireſt opportunity of raking and diſabling the Cumberland, and Newcaſtle, which were the two ſternmoſt ſhips, and, as all the others, lay helpleſs in the calm with their ſterns towards the enemy.

1758. July. Auguſt.

1758. August. At noon the ſea-breeze ſprung up from the s. w. which gave the wind to the Engliſh ſhips. Both ſquadrons formed their lines anew to the wind, with their heads w. N. w. and as ſoon as this was done in the Engliſh line, Mr. Pococke at 20 minutes paſt 12 made the ſignal to bear down.

The enemy's line conſiſted of eight ſail; the Sylphide, which appeared in it in the laſt engagement, was kept out to repeat ſignals: the Comte de Provence, which had not beeen in it, ſupplied the place of the Bienaime, which was ſtranded in the ſurf. The Elizabeth ſtood for the Comte de Provence, and hawled up abreaſt of her before the reſt of the line were in their proper form; for it is impoſſible that ſeveral ſhips can correſpond inſtantaneouſly in the ſame operations. Mr. D'Aché immediately made the ſignal for engagement, and the Comte de Provence had given her broad-ſide upon the Elizabeth before Mr. Pococke threw out his ſignal, at 20 minutes paſt one, when his whole line was compleatly formed in cloſed order at the proper diſtance from each other, and all at equal diſtance from the enemy, who were not ſo regularly drawn up, curving inwards from the extremities: the two admirals, as in the former engagement, were in the center of their reſpective lines. The fire was in both as hot as poſſible: but the French fired high, the Engliſh only at the hulls, and both with much certainty, for they were near, the ſea ſmooth, and the breeze light. In ten minutes the mizen of the Comte de Provence took fire, which obliged her to bear away, and cut away the maſt. The Duc de Bourgogne took her place againſt the Elizabeth. A little after the wheel of the Zodiac's rudder was carried away by a ſhot from the Yarmouth, to repair which ſhe paſſed under the lee of the Duc d'Orleans, and no ſooner returned again into the line, than one of her lower deck guns in the gun-room burſt, and beat through the deck above. This miſchance was ſoon followed by a greater, for the bulk-head of her powder-room took fire; whilſt extinguiſhing it, the rudder gave way again, and the ſhip fell foul of the Duc d'Orleans, her ſecond ahead; and both, whilſt diſentangling, were expoſed almoſt defenceleſs to the hotteſt fire from their opponents the Yarmouth and Tyger: the Condé and the Moras

were by this time beaten out of the line, and at eight minutes after two, the Zodiaque as ſoon as diſengaged bore away, as in fifteen minutes more did the other five ſhips not yet gone, all crowding all the ſail they could carry, and even cutting their boats adrift, to make more way. Mr. Pococke then threw out the ſignal for a general chace; but in leſs than ten minutes all the enemy's ſhips were got out of certain ſhot; and at ſix o'clock their hindmoſt were five miles from the foremoſt of the Engliſh ſhips, which then ceaſed the chace, and after getting together again hawled the wind, and at eight anchored off Karical, about three miles from the ſhore. Mr. D'Aché ſteered for Pondicherry. Notwithſtanding the irregularity and ſhort continuance of this fight, the French ſuffered as much in it as in the former engagement, although they had then 1200 more men on board; for their killed and wounded amounted to few leſs than 600, of whom 33 were killed dead, and 151 dangerouſly wounded in the Zodiaque alone. In the whole of the Engliſh ſquadron only 31 were killed, and 166 wounded; both ſquadrons ſuffered in proportion to the manner in which the enemy fought; the French loſt in men and ſlaughter, and all the Engliſh ſhips were ſo much damaged in their rigging, that, if a freſh wind had ariſen during the engagement, ſeveral of their maſts muſt have gone by the board, for want of the ſhrowds, ſtays, and other ſecurities, which the enemy's ſhot and langrain had cut away. Both Mr. Pococke and D'Aché were wounded by ſplinters, and Commodore Stevens received a muſket-ball, which lodged in his ſhoulder, and was ſeen to be ſhot with aim by a French officer. 1758. Auguſt.

Three days after the engagement, a ſnow called the Rubys, from the iſland of Mauritius, anchored in the road of Negapatam, of which, as ſoon as Mr. Pococke received information, he detached one of the ſhips of his ſquadron, whoſe boats cut the ſnow out of the road within gun-ſhot of the Dutch flag, and the fort did not fire to protect her, but afterwards remonſtrated againſt the offence. A few days after a Dutch ſhip of 500 tons from Batavia, with 30,000 pounds in dollars on board, anchored in the road of Pondicherry, which Mr. D'Aché immediately ſeized as repriſal for the ſuppoſed connivance

1758. Auguſt. connivance of the government of Negapatam, in not protecting the Rubys according to the rights of a neutral port.

The retreat of the Engliſh garriſons into Madraſs, and the inſubordination of the Nabob's troops at Arcot, left the country to the ſouth of the Paliar without any other protection excepting from the troops maintained by Murzafabeg; who endeavouring to cover a greater extent than his force was adequate to, was no where ſtrong enough to oppoſe the enemy; and, in the end of June, a French officer returning with his eſcort of Sepoys, and a party of horſemen, which he had levied at Velore, ſurprized the fort of Trivatore, in which he left his Sepoys, who being joined by the peons from the French diſtricts, all together made incurſions on the harveſts of Conjeveram and Salawauk; to repreſs which, the preſidency ſent out again four companies of Sepoys, two to Conjeveram, and two to Chinglapet; which were not ſufficient to repreſs half the miſchief. However, an advantage was ſoon after gained by other means, which more than retaliated the loſs of Trivatore. Mr. Lally, on his arrival at Pondicherry, had given the fort of Trinomalee with its depedencies, which Mr. Soupires had reduced in the preceding year, to Rajahſaheb, the long-neglected ſon of Chundaſaheb, who to prove himſelf worthy of this change in his fortunes, levied a body of 300 good horſe and 300 Sepoys, and proceeded with them in the beginning of Auguſt, eſcorting a convoy of proviſions to the French army in the Tanjore country; but this expence and ſubſtraction obliged him to leave Trinomalee ill-guarded. Kiſtnarow, the Kellidar of Thiagar, which had been attacked without ſucceſs by the French troops, and whoſe diſtricts were ſtill continually harraſſed by them, took the opportunity, and aſſaulting Trinomalee in the night, carried it, and put all the garriſon to the ſword. It was taken on the 10th of Auguſt, and it was not until the 14th that the preſidency received intelligence of the agreement which the king of Tanjore had made on the 1ſt of the month, to aſſiſt the French army in the attack they intended againſt Tritchinopoly; on which, they reſolved to take the field, but with no other views or hopes than that the rumour might recall the king, or at leaſt ſtop the

defection

defection of other allies. The uſual tardineſs of preparations detained the troops in the town until the 18th; when Colonel Lawrence marched with eight field-pieces, 620 Europeans, and 1200 Sepoys. On the 24th, they encamped on the other ſide of the Paliar, about eight miles beyond Chinglapet, when having received intelligence of the retreat of the French army from Tanjore, they returned themſelves to Madraſs, where they arrived on the laſt day of the month. Whilſt abroad, a party of the Nabob's troops from Arcot, encouraged by their march, joined thoſe of Abdul Hay the renter of Salawauk, and, after an aukward attack, which laſted eight days, retook the fort of Trivatore by aſſault, and put many of the garriſon, which conſiſted of 500 men, to the ſword. 1758. Auguſt.

Mr. D'Aché retired from the laſt engagement with a conviction that the Engliſh remained to windward with the intention of falling ſuddenly upon his ſhips, whilſt moored and repairing in the road of Pondicherry; and it was ſuppoſed that they had two fire-ſhips, although they had only one, which had been of no ſervice in the laſt engagement: however, theſe notions determined him to anchor oppoſite to the town, as near the ſhore as poſſible, under the protection of the line of guns to the ſea; and the council, in complacence, it is ſaid, to his ideas, recalled the detachment of 600 Europeans encamped with Mr. Soupires at Gingee, who came in on the 14th, on the ſame day that the troops from Madraſs took the field. Neither the remonſtrances of the Count D'Eſtaigne, ſent forward by Mr. Lally, to proteſt againſt the diſrepute which would follow this apprehenſive conduct, nor Mr. D'Eſtaigne's offers of embarking any number of troops on the ſquadron, and of accompanying them himſelf, as a proof of his confidence of ſucceſs, availed to induce Mr. D'Aché to ſail, and try the riſque of another engagement. Mr. Lally moved with the army from Karical on the 24th: they were two days in paſſing the Coleroon at Devi Cotah, and obliged at laſt to leave their artillery and carriages there: when Mr. Lally went forward with a ſmall detachment, and arrived on the 28th at Pondicherry, where he immediately ſummoned a mixt council of the adminiſtration and the army, who concurred in remonſtrating to

Mr.

1758. Auguſt. Mr. D'Aché the neceſſity of meeting the Engliſh ſquadron again, or at leaſt of deferring the departure of his own whilſt they remained on the coaſt. Mr. D'Aché returned the unanimous opinion of all his captains, that the one was impracticable, and the other too dangerous to be riſqued: however, after ſome mediations, he conſented to leave 500 of his ſailors and marines to ſerve on ſhore; and on the 3d of September ſailed with all the ſhips for the Iſle of Mauritius.

The detachments which had been ſent from Tritchinopoly to aſſiſt Tanjore, and the attack impending on Tritchinopoly itſelf, if Mr. Lally ſhould ſucceed in his views at Tanjore, had obliged Captain Calliaud not only to withdraw the guards of Sepoys ſtationed in the diſtant villages, but even to call in the garriſon he had placed in the pagoda of Seringham, although under the guns of the city. The brother of Hydernaig, with the party of Myſoreans who had lately been driven out of it, had returned from Dindigul, reinforced with more, and were waiting at ſome diſtance to the weſt; and as ſoon as Seringham was evacuated by the Engliſh troops, they came on, and took poſſeſſion of it again: but Calliaud, as ſoon as the French army retreated from before Tanjore, ſent out parties to attack them, who with little effort diſpoſſeſſed and drove them away. No probability then remaining of any intermediate danger, Calliaud reſolved, as ſoon as his detachments returned from Tanjore, to diſpoſſeſs the reigning Rheddy of Terriore, and to reſtore his couſin, the expelled Rheddy: who had long ſolicited this aſſiſtance, which could not with prudence be afforded, whilſt the French garriſon were remaining at Seringham. The viciſſitudes of theſe two competitors had been peculiar. The French found the Rheddy, now expelled, in poſſeſſion when they over-run Terriore in 1753; and then depoſing him, appointed the Rheddy now reigning, whom they removed in 1755, and reinſtated the firſt: but, being afterwards diſſatisfied with his conduct, expelled him in 1756, and again reinſtated his rival; who, from this laſt appointment, had kept poſſeſſion. The plunder of the adjacent villages between Terriore, and the ſtreights of Utatoor, was the only detriment

trimeut to be apprehended from him; but the expelled Rheddy was much befriended by the Polygars of Arcelore and Woriorepollam, whoſe long averſion to the French, it was at this time more eſpecially expedient to encourage by indulging their ſolicitude for the reinſtatement of their friend. 1758. Auguſt.

Accordingly Captain Joſeph Smith marched, with his company of 70 Europeans, the company of 50 Coffres, two field-pieces, with their artillery-men, and ten companies of Sepoys, commanded by Mahomed Iſſoof. The depoſed Rheddy, with ſome of the Colleries, or natives of Terriore, who abided by his fortunes, accompanied the detachment, and, if nothing more, were to ſerve as guides through the wood. Meſſengers were ſent forward with a letter, ordering the Rheddy within to come out, and meet Captain Smith; and they were inſtructed to take notice of every thing that occurred in the path through which they ſhould be led; but the guards at the barrier ſtopped them, and ſent on the letter by men of their own, who returned with a letter from the Rheddy, which they delivered to the meſſengers, who brought it to Captain Smith on the march. It contained vague apologies for his not coming out of the wood, and endeavoured to gain time, which Captain Smith reſolved not to loſe. The troops arrived in ſight of the barrier at four in the afternoon of the day after they had croſſed the Coleroon, and immediately formed for the attack.

The wood of Terriore ſtretcheth 20 miles along the foot of the weſtern mountains, and extends from them 10 miles into the plain; the wood is in moſt parts ſeven miles through, and encloſes an open ground about three miles ſquare, of which the farther ſide, as of the wood itſelf, adjoins to the hills: and in this area are the habitation of the Rheddi, which is a ſpacious building, a town, gardens, arable lands, and immediately under the hills a very large tank, computed ſeven miles in circumference. It was known, that the path before them had defences in various parts, and that the whole of the fighting men would be in theſe ſtations. Captain Smith therefore ſent off four companies of Sepoys, with Ramanaig, a Jemautdar, on whom Mahomed Iſſoof had reliance, to enter the wood

1758. August. at a conſiderable diſtance on the right, under the conduct of the guides, who undertook to lead them to the town, through a ſecret path, of which there are ſeveral in the wood, known only to the inhabitants, who call them the rogues' path-way. The firſt barrier was a winding paſſage between two thick-ſet hedges of thorn, leading into the ſtraiter path of the wood; but choaked at both ends with brambles laid for the occaſion. Nevertheleſs the enemy abandoned this poſt, although very defenſible, without reſiſtance.

The Coffres led, followed by the Europeans; they by one of the ſix-pounders, with limber boxes only; and the Sepoys marched in the rear, excepting a few who remained to guard the other ſix-pounder, the ſpare ammunition, and the baggage, which were left at the ſkirt of the wood; the line proceeded more than a mile in the path without interruption, but at length was fired upon from a breaſt-work of brick on the right; from which the enemy were ſoon diſlodged, and retired through the buſhes to the next; but as they were intent in carrying off their wounded, the muſketry gauled them a good deal as they were going away. Moving onward, the line ſoon received a ſmart fire from a ſecond breaſt-work like the firſt; but the Coffres ſoon obliged the enemy to quit this ſtation likewiſe, when they retired to their main body; a few of the line were wounded in driving them from theſe defences. The Coffres continued to move on in front, and had out-marched the reſt of the line, when by a ſudden turning in the road, they came unexpectedly at once within piſtol-ſhot of the enemy's principal poſt. This was a ſtrong wall of brick, 14 feet high, divided into a rampart and parapet, and in the parapet were ſeveral tiers of loop-holes; it ſtretched a-croſs the path and ſome yards beyond it on each hand, and had a return of the ſame conſtruction at each extremity, but falling back, inſtead of projecting to flank the main wall, and in the return on the left ſtood the gate-way; this work was ſurrounded by a ſtrong hedge of thorn, which continuing on the ſides joined the main wood to ſome diſtance in the rear. As ſoon as the Coffres appeared at the turning, the enemy teſtified their numbers, and their courage,

courage, by ſhouting, the din of inſtruments, and a ſtrong fire of their matchlocks, which, with the ſurprize, panic-ſtruck the Coffres: they ran back in the path, and were immediately followed by numbers of the enemy iſſuing from the thickets on the left. There was no time to enquire the cauſe. Captain Smith immediately led on the Europeans, who ſoon drove the enemy back into the wood, who did not eſcape through the barrier of thorns before the wall. Both were now attentively examined; and, whilſt ſome endeavoured to tear up the hedge in front, others tried to get round the flanks of it into the wood; but none ſucceeded, and ſeveral were wounded. The field-piece was then advanced, and fired until all its ammunition was expended, without taking any effect on the parapet, or intimidating the enemy, whoſe matchlocks had wounded five of the ſix artillerymen ſerving the gun, and more of the other Europeans, who likewiſe had expended moſt of their cartridges. It was now ſeven o'clock, and began to grow dark, when all the blacks, whether Coffres, Sepoys, or Laſcars, took advantage of this protection, and ſlunk away back into the path, out of the reach of danger, excepting Mahomed Iſſoof, one ſervant of Captain Smith's, and one Tindal, or corporal of the Laſcars. A ſupply of ammunition had been ſent for from the ſkirt of the wood as ſoon as the troops came to the wall; but from the diſtance it could not be expected for ſome time. During which, Captain Smith ordered the Europeans to fire their muſkets now and then againſt the parapet, as well to convince the enemy that they were determined not to relinquiſh the attack, as to divert the chance of their diſcovering the party with Ramanaig, whoſe arrival, too long delayed, had for ſome time created much doubt and anxiety. At eight o'clock more ammunition came up, when the firing of the field-piece and muſketry renewed again with great vivacity, and was equally returned by the enemy. Soon after, firing was heard in the rear of the wall, and the ſound of Ding Mahomed echoed from every part of the wood; this is the ſucceſsful ſhout of the Sepoys, and ſignifies the faith of their Prophet. They were already in the path, advancing at full pace; the troops of the rampart were flying, and met their fire; after which all reſiſtance ceaſed;

1758. September.

1758. September. and Ramanaig breaking down the gate, let in his friends without. There remained three miles of the path to the town, but impeded with no more defences, nor were the thickets on either hand ſo cloſe. The troops were gathered, the Sepoys and Coffres who had kept back came on, and all proceeded to the town, which they found abandoned. The reigning Rheddy, and all his people, had eſcaped into the hills, excepting a few men who could not remove, having been blown-up with gunpowder intended to load a field-piece, which they were dragging to the wall in the paſs. The delay of Ramanaig's party had been cauſed by the timidity of his guides, who, on ſome fright, left them ſoon after they entered the wood, to find their way as they could. Of 70 Europeans 4 were killed and 28 wounded in the attack; Mahomed Iſſoof was ſhot through the arm, but, binding up his wound, continued on the ground until all was over. A great number of ſcaling ladders were found at the Rheddy's houſe, which had been prepared, and were lying in readineſs for the French to eſcalade Tritchinopoly, when they ſhould ſee the opportunity. The natives of this diſtrict have little reſemblance with any others in the Carnatic; they have large bloated heads, pot bellies, and ſmall limbs. The climate is very unhealthy to ſtrangers, imputed to the nature of the water. The detachment continued in the town a week; and during this ſhort ſtay Captain Smith, all his officers, and moſt of the other Europeans, fell ill. Three companies of Sepoys, with three good ſerjeants, were left to protect the reinſtated Rheddy; and the main body of the detachment returned to Tritchinopoly.

Mr. Lally felt ſeverely, although he did not acknowledge, the diſgrace of his retreat from Tanjore. It exaſperated the natural aſperity of his diſpoſition, and inflamed all his prejudices and animoſities, which, continually expreſſed in the keeneſt ſarcaſms his redundant wit could ſuggeſt, had rendered him odious to all ranks of men, to the natives as to the colony, to the ſquadron as to his own army, in which he ſeems to have allowed capacity with zeal to no one, excepting the Count d'Eſtaigne. On the other hand, no imputations were ſpared by the wounded, or their freinds, which could

could aggravate his mortifications; not even cowardice itſelf, although the ſuppoſition aroſe only from the ſtun which he received in the onſet of the Tanjorine horſemen. Being naturally ſuſpicious, and equally inquiſitive, he did not remain ignorant of theſe reports and opinions; but for the preſent ſtifled his reſentment, in hopes of tracing them to principals worthy of notice, whom he ſuſpected to be the firſt in the government, from their adherence to Mr. Buſſy. Theſe reproaches, however, ſtimulated his activity to enter immediately into action; and, on his arrival at Pondicherry, whilſt arranging with Mr. D'Aché, he ordered Saubinet to march with the 600 Europeans who had encamped with Soupire's, and were freſh men, and retake Trinomalee. But before we open this new campaign, it is neceſſary to review the events of Mr. Buſſy in the Decan; and continue the affairs of Bengal to this period; as each were at this time approaching to an immediate relation with the operations of both nations in the Carnatic.

1758. September. January.

The force with which Mr. Buſſy marched from Rajahmundrum in the beginning of the year, to rejoin Salabadjing at Aurengabad, conſiſted of 500 Europeans infantry and artillery, 200 Europeans mounted as Huſſars and dragoons, 5000 Sepoys, and 10 field-pieces. They ſtruck directly acroſs the country, paſſing through Elore, and proceeded in a high road, which had never before been marched by a body of European troops. The diſtance by the perambulator is nearly 400 miles; which it is ſaid they accompliſhed in 21 days. On their arrival at Aurengabad, they encamped on the weſtern ſide of the city, and in the midſt of four armies: Nizamally's from Berar; the army of the Subahſhip, of which Nizamally had likewiſe aſſumed the command; of Baſſaulet Jung from Adoni; and the Morattoes, now commanded by Balagerow in perſon, who had come as uſual to take advantage of the confuſions in the government, but had ſuſpended hoſtilities.

The approach of Mr. Buſſy and his force, which was equal in efficacy to any of the armies, ſuſpended all intrigues in attention to his conduct. He immediately viſited Salabadjing with much ceremony, and treated him with every mark of reſpect and allegiance; the

1758. September. *February.* the next day he went to Balagerow, who met him half-way in a tent pitched on purpoſe, and then conducted him to his camp, where they had a long conference. Shanavaze Khan had already aſked permiſſion to exculpate himſelf in perſon; but Mr. Buſſy commiſſioned Hyderjung his principal agent to receive his communications, in order, if poſſible, to diſcover his real practices or intentions. The father of Hyderjung was governor of Maſulipatam when the French factory in that city was confiſcated in 1750 by the orders of Nazirjing, of which he evaded the rigour; and afterwards, when the city itſelf was ſurprized by the armament ſent from Pondicherry by Mr. Dupleix, is ſuppoſed to have connived at their ſucceſs. With theſe pretenſions, his ſon came, and tendered his ſervice to Mr. Buſſy at Golcondah on his firſt arrival there with Salabadjing from the Carnatic, when Hyderjung received a command in the French Sepoys, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf; but ſtill more by his ſagacity and addreſs, until by degrees he became the principal confident of Mr. Buſſy, who, to give him weight and dignity, obtained for him high titles from Salabadjing, and even a patent of nobility from Delhi. From this time, his retinue and houſehold were eſtabliſhed with ſumptuouſneſs; and he was allowed to keep a conſtant court or durbar in order to extend his informations; and Jaghires with other emoluments, ſufficient not only to defray his expences, but to eſtabliſh his fortune, were likewiſe conferred on him, as well by Salabadjing as Mr. Buſſy: his penetration ſoon perceived that Shanavaze Khan, naturally timid, was frightened by the arrival of the French army; but that he had been the ſecret ſpring of all the miſchief, in which he had engaged from a perſuaſion that the operations of the war declared between the two European nations would have confined Mr. Buſſy to the protection of the ceded provinces until its concluſion; before which he had no doubt of eſtabliſhing his own arrangements in the government of the Decan, too firmly to be ſhaken. But, as more danger in the preſent circumſtances was to be apprehended from the more audacious character of Nizamally, who, beſides the reſpect which was paid to his birth, had acquired ſome reputation amongſt

amongſt the troops, Mr. Buſſy reſolved for the preſent to take Shanavaze Khan in his hand as far as he would go, by which he would at leaſt be more narrowly watched, if not prevented from ſuggeſting reſources to Nizamally, and abetting them with his public influence, which, from his long ſervices, and a perſuaſion of his attachment to the family of Nizamalmuluc, was conſiderable. In conformity to this conduct, Mr. Buſſy, by appointment, viſited Nizamally, but with a very ſtrong eſcort, which, when he entered the tent, was ſo diſpoſed, as to be certain of avenging any attempt on his perſon. The interview continued with calmneſs until Mr. Buſſy adviſed Nizamally to deliver back the great ſeal of the government to Salabadjing; when Nizamally anſwered with much heat, "that he "with his brother Baſſaulet Jung had been obliged to take it from him "by the clamours of his own troops, who having been long diſap- "pointed of their pay, with an army of Morattoes in ſight, could not "have been reſtrained from open revolt, if he and his brother had not "immediately furniſhed a part of their arrears, and given their own "obligations to pay the reſt: it was therefore unjuſt to deprive them of "the means of reimburſing the money they had advanced, and ſtill "more, to diſable them from providing for the diſcharge of their fu- "ture engagements, the failure of which would, from the ſame cauſe, "expoſe them to the very dangers which they had averted from "Salabadjing." The next day Salabadjing viſited Nizamally in his camp, and demanded the ſeal in form, but received the ſame anſwer. Whether from real or pretended indignation, Nizamally the day after ſent for Shanavaze Khan, and reproached him publickly as the author of this advice: the next day, which was the 14th of February, as Baſſaulet Jung was paſſing on his elephant near the palace of Salabadjing, a muſket in the croud went off, and the ball paſſed through the houſings on which he was ſitting: the man was immediately ſeized, and being queſtioned, ſaid, he had been hired by Shanavaze Khan and Hyder Jung, with the promiſe of 5000 rupees, to ſhoot Baſſaulet Jung. The ſtory was carried, with as much incoherence as it was paſſing in the city, to the camp of Nizamally, who, pretending to believe the life of his brother in danger,

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mounted his elephant, and advanced with what troops were ready to the neareſt gate; but after ſeveral meſſages which aſſured him that Baſſaulet Jung was ſafe, he returned in the evening. The day after Baſſaulet Jung went to the durbar of Salabadjing, ſpoke ſtanding, and with expreſſions of unuſual diſreſpect flung down the ſeal. It is ſo rare in the manners of Indoſtan that any indecorum of words or geſture paſſes amongſt equals, and ſtill more from an inferior, that the officers preſent in the durbar formed ſiniſter conjectures of theſe animoſities amongſt the brothers; and although the few, who reaſon before they believe, imputed the muſket-ball to chance, and the confeſſion of the man to ſubornation, yet the troops even in Salabadjing's camp were perſuaded that he had been employed, if not by Shanaveze Khan, at leaſt by Hyder Jung. Mr. Buſſy ſaw the general odium to which this prejudice, if not removed, would expoſe himſelf and all his nation; and ſuggeſted a means of reconciliation. The ſeal was ſent back to Baſſaulet Jung, but an officer, who was a dependant on Hyder Jung, was appointed to keep it in a ſealed bag, and to be preſent whenever it was uſed. This compliment, ſuch as it was, ſatisfied the officers of Baſſaulet Jung's court, and appeaſed the public; and other advantages were gained by it; for Baſſaulet Jung conſenting, it placed him in ſuch a relation with the adminiſtration of Salabadjing, that he was either likely to relinquiſh, or would not be able to conceal his intrigues with his brother Nizamally. A few days after this reconciliation, Salabadjing ſent a deputation of his principal officers to Nizamally, requeſting him to relinquiſh the government of Berar, and to accept as a compenſation a monthly allowance of 20,000 rupees. Nizamally rejected the propoſal with diſdain, and publiſhed it amongſt the troops, who with equal indignation cried out, that "Nizamally was a ſon of Nizamalmuluck as "well as Salabadjing." This expreſſion of their attachment precluded the employment of force, and, as the only means left to reduce him to compliance, the principal officers of his army were tampered with, and ſeveral of them were gained by promiſes and money to give aſſurances that they would not ſupport him in aſſerting the go-

vernment of Berar againſt the will of Soubah, provided he received ſome other dignity which he might accept without diſhonour; but by this time Nizamally himſelf was content to diſſemble, and remain quiet, waiting for events. Such was the ſtate of affairs in the city and camps of Aurungabad towards the end of March, when the various agitations, which had hitherto kept every intereſt in conſtant vibration, began to ſubſide; and this temporary tranquillity had been much wiſhed for by Mr. Buſſy, in order to accompliſh another ſcheme he had ſome time been preparing. 1758. September. *March.*

No reliance could be placed on the integrity of Shanavaze Khan's conduct, whilſt in poſſeſſion of ſuch a refuge and reſource as the fortreſs of Doltabad; but no offers were likely to induce him to relinquiſh it, for Balagerow had in vain attempted to purchaſe it from him: and the direct propoſal from Mr. Buſſy to Shanavaze Khan himſelf, would reveal the ſecret, and defeat the intention. Mr. Buſſy therefore employed Hyder Jung to treat with the governor of the fort, who, after a variety of arguments and overtures, at length conſented to betray his truſt on the receipt of a ſum of money in hand, and the promiſe of a more profitable employment: but to ſave the appearance of his honour, dictated the manner. A day or two before the execution of the ſcheme, Mr. Buſſy, as if having leiſure to take ſome amuſement, ſent his compliments to the governor, requeſting his permiſſion to paſs an hour in the upper fort, from which the proſpect is extenſive and magnificent: and the governor invited him to dinner. Mr. Buſſy arrived, eſcorted by 300 Europeans, who were admitted into the ſecond fort, to which the governor, under pretence of reſpect, ſent down all the garriſon of the upper, excepting fifty men, with whom he remained himſelf above to receive the gueſts. Mr. Buſſy went up accompanied by forty men, many of whom were officers. The dinner was ſerved in the hall of the killidar's houſe, and when ready, Mr. Buſſy, with the officers, went into the hall, and his body guard remained at the door: but the killidar, as if from politeneſs, admitted none of his own officers or ſoldiers, and from the menial ſervants who waited, little reſiſtance was to be apprehended. On the invitation to ſit down, Mr. Buſſy told the killidar, that *April.*

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he could not partake of his hoſpitality, being obliged by the neceſſity of his affairs, to make him a priſoner, and take poſſeſſion of the fort; but that no violence was intended againſt his perſon, provided neither he nor his garriſon attempted any reſiſtance. The killidar, as if ſurprized, ſurrendered his poignard; he was then conducted into the area, and ſignified his condition and the riſque to his ſoldiers, who in deference to his danger gave up their arms. On the ſignal, the French troops below got under arms; by which time meſſengers ſent by the killidar came down and informed the garriſon there of what had happened above; and ſuch was the military reputation of the French troops drawn up before them, that the few, whoſe indignation exhorted their comrades to revenge their lord and defend themſelves, found fewer to ſecond their reſiſtance. Nevertheleſs, ſome ſkirmiſhing enſued, but ſubſided on the death of two or three of theſe leaders; immediately after which, the garriſons were turned out of both the forts; and the defences of the town below were too weak to require heed.

No reconciliation, and every miſchief, was to be expected from Shanavaze Khan after this provocation, and Mr. Buſſy had taken meaſures to prevent the effects of his revenge: a party of Salabadjing's troops ſurrounded his tent in the camp in the very hour that the governor of Doltabad was arreſted; and as the connexion between him and Mahomed Huſſein the king's Duan had lately grown into ſtrict intimacy, another detachment at the ſame time ſecured his perſon likewiſe; they were both made priſoners before they knew why, or the loſs of Doltabad. The news excited univerſal aſtoniſhment, and terrified even thoſe in whom it raiſed the moſt reſentment: for Nizamally recovering from his firſt emotions pretended that the poſſeſſion of Doltabad was a matter in which his intereſts were not concerned.

Balagerow was halting about 50 miles from the city, towards his own country, and immediately returned and encamped again near the army of Salabadjing; not with any intentions of hoſtility, but with the hopes of obtaining the fort of Doltabad from Mr. Buſſy; with whom, after ſeveral complimentary meſſages, he had an inter-

view; "What advantage, he ſaid, can you Europeans derive from "the poſſeſſion of this poſt, ſituated in the center of Indoſtan? If "you hold it with your own troops, it will only ſerve to weaken your "army every time you quit the neighbourhood of Aurungabad. If "you leave it to the care of Salabadjing's, his enemies, who are yours, "will find means to get it, as Shanavaze Khan lately did. Would it "not be better to give it me? If I obtain it by your means, you have "too much experience of my character to doubt of my gratitude; "and the confuſions which reign in the court of Salabadjing, the ſitu- "ation of your northern provinces, and the war in which you are "engaged with the Engliſh in the Carnatic, may ſoon give me op- "portunities of rendering important ſervices to your nation." Mr. Buſſy replied, that his principal motive for taking poſſeſſion of Doltabad had been to ſecure a certain refuge for the perſonal ſafety of Salabadjing againſt all the accidents of war, and all the convulſions of his government. Balagerow, although diſappointed, manifeſted no umbrage, but continued in his camp, waiting from events ſome better opportunity of renewing his plea. 1758. September. April.

Many had conjectured the motives of his return, and the enemies of Salabadjing expected an immediate rupture between them; and Nizamally, encouraged by this hope, ſolicited his alliance, promiſing to give him Doltabad if ever in his power. But Balagerow gave no encouragement to his propoſals; on which, he with much hypocriſy pretended to be at length convinced of the miſdemeanors of his late conduct, and aſſured Salabadjing and Mr. Buſſy that he ſhould chearfully accept and abide by their determination of his fortune. His profeſſions, although doubted, were accepted; becauſe the ſeduction of ſome of his connexions, and the impriſonment of the moſt dangerous, had greatly weakened his means of miſchief; but, not to ſhock by too ſudden an humiliation the public reſpect to his birth, it was agreed to give him the government of Hydrabad, which, although much abridged of its ancient domain, ſtill remained a very conſiderable province of the Decan. Nizamally affecting to be perfectly ſatisfied with the lot, viſited Salabadjing, received the inveſtiture in public, and made oſtentatious preparatious to proceed to

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the capital of his government. The day of his departure was fixed for the 11th of May; and Salabadjing, having no ſuſpicion that he had any other intentions, went two days before to pay his devotions at the tomb of his father Nizamalmuluck, which ſtands ſomewhere about 20 miles from Aurengabad.

In the morning of Nizamally's departure, he held a public durbar to receive the compliments of taking leave from the principal officers of the government: amongſt them went Hyder Jung, whom he received with marked diſtinction: and, when he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, beckoned him, with ſeveral of his own officers, to follow to an inward tent, where they again ſat down, and diſcourſed a while with much ſeeming confidence on public affairs, until Nizamally roſe ſuddenly, as if urged by ſome ſudden neceſſity; but made a motion with his hand to Hyder Jung not to move, ſignifying that he ſhould return immediately, and in the inſtant diſappeared behind a curtain which opened to other apartments. Hyder Jung, notwithſtanding the injunction, was riſing to make his obeiſance; when two officers, who were ſitting one on each hand of him, preſſed him down by the ſhoulders, and a domeſtic, who ſtood ready behind, plunged a dagger into his heart: the ſtruggle was heard, but it was ſome time before the attendants of Hyder Jung were appriſed of his death; for no ſervants are admitted within the centries who guard the tent of audience, and the greateſt part of the retinue remain at a ſtill greater diſtance, in the place where their maſter has alighted. Letters all of the ſame tenor to Salabadjing, Balajerow, Baſſaulet Jung, and even to Mr. Buſſy, had been prepared previous to the aſſaſſination, deſcribing it as the unfortunate conſequence of high words and affront, which had riſen between Hyder Jung and ſome officers in the durbar, after Nizamally had retired: the letter to Mr. Buſſy brought the firſt intelligence which he received of the event, and was interpreted to him by Zulfacar Khan, the very brother of Hyder Jung. The general was immediately beaten, and in a few minutes the whole French army were in battle array, with Mr. Buſſy at their head, mounted on his elephant, uncertain what to expect, and ſurmiſing a combination againſt himſelf of all the powers by which he was ſur-

ſurrounded; but Jaffier Ally Khan, who at this time had the principal command in Salabadjing's army, immediately ſent him aſſurances of his attachment, and ſoon after came up with a large body of troops, who ranged with the French, and others were following: the firſt care was to ſend a detachment to ſtrengthen the eſcort of Salabadjing, and protect his return from his father's tomb: Mr. Buſſy had no doubt that Shanavaze Khan and the emperor's Duan Mahomed Huſſein had abetted, if not adviſed, the aſſaſſination of Hyder Jung: their confinement had hitherto been gentle, having only centinels round the encloſures of their tents, in which they reſided with their families; but Mr. Buſſy now ſuppoſed, that they would endeavour to eſcape to, or might be reſcued by, Nizamally; to prevent which, as well as to have ſureties againſt the aſſaſſination of his own perſon, he ſent a ſtrong detachment to bring them immediately to his own camp, intending to confine them in the fortreſs of Doltabad, until more certain information was acquired, or tranquillity reſtored. The detachment conſiſted of Salabadjing's troops, and French Sepoys. They found a multitude of armed men at the tents, who refuſed them admiſſion, which they immediately attempted by violence, and were reſiſted with great reſolution, animated by the principals, who ſuppoſing their deaths determined, joined and encouraged their adherents; after which no quarter was given; neither did the conflict ceaſe, until Shanavaze Khan with one of his ſons, Mahomed Huſſein, and moſt of thoſe who defended them, were killed on the ſpot. Before the evening cloſed, an officer deputed by Balajerow came to Mr. Buſſy, with aſſurances of his deteſtation of the murder of Hyder Jung.

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Nizamally had been waiting in the utmoſt agitation the conſequences of his deed, and ſeems to have expected a very different reſult; for the news of Shanavaze Khan's and Mahomed Huſſein's death was obſerved to ſtrike him with diſmay. At midnight he quitted the camp, accompanied by the choice of his cavalry; and fled with the utmoſt ſpeed and perſeverance that their horſes could endure to gain Brampour, which is one hundred and fifty miles N. of Aurungabad. It is ſaid they reached it in 26 hours, which is impoſſible.

1758. impoſſible. Reſpect to Salabadjing had withheld Mr. Buſſy from attacking Nizamally in his camp, which his force would have eaſily beaten up and diſperſed.

September. The next day Salabadjing returned, and immediately held a general council of his principal officers, at which Mr. Buſſy was likewiſe preſent: after many opinions all inſenſibly joined in the neceſſity of puniſhing Nizamally; and this led to a general reſolution of marching directly with the whole army to Brampour. Mr. Buſſy, who knew the characters and connexions of thoſe who compoſed the council, ſuſpected the ſincerity of ſeveral in this advice, foreſeeing that nothing would render him more unpopular in the Decan than the imputation of engaging the Soubah in a war with his brother, to avenge an offence more particularly committed againſt himſelf: he had, moreover, at this time received intelligence from Pondicherry that Mr. Lally was daily expected to arrive there, whoſe orders might not be conſonant to the difficulties or importance of his own ſituation: he therefore endeavoured to revoke the reſolution; but Salabadjing himſelf inſiſted, and reſted the neceſſity on the aſſertion of his own authority. The whole army was in motion the next morning, and advanced with diligence for three days towards Brampour, during which Mr. Buſſy convinced Salabadjing, naturally averſe to endeavour, of the inutility of the purſuit, ſince it was evident that Nizamally with the inſufficient force he commanded would be continually removing out of his reach. The army having halted a day began their march back, thinking that they were returning to Aurungabad; but it was the intention of Mr. Buſſy to lead them by degrees to Golcondah; and in this view he ſuggeſted the expediency of moving towards the frontiers of Berar, in order to ſuppreſs any commotions which might be attempted in that province by the adherents of Nizamally. The army thus proceeded to the ſouth, leaving the city of Aurungabad at a diſtance to the weſt; but, halting continually to ſupport the regulations of the government, advanced ſo ſlowly, that they did not reach the banks of the Gunga, which paſſeth about midway between Golcondah and Aurungabad, until the 11th of June, in which interval Mr. Conflans arrived with

May.

June.

his

his commiſſion to act as ſecond in the command of the French army, and brought a letter from Mr. Lally to Mr. Buſſy, dated the 10th of May, which announced, although it did not order, his recall. The paſſage of the Gunga would decide the continuance of the march to Golcondah, of which the army ſtill remained uncertain; but by this time Mr. Buſſy had gained the concurrence of Baſſaulet Jung by promiſing him the goverment of Hydrabad, which had been intended for his brother Nizamally, together with the office of Duan to the ſoubahſhip: his approbation ſilenced the diſcontent of many others, and the army ſhewed no averſion to go on: and as it was daily expected that the river would begin to riſe, Mr. Buſſy making uſe of this pretence, arranged, that the tents, family, and domeſtic retinue of Salabadjing, ſhould paſs the firſt, and then immediately followed himſelf with the whole body of the French troops, in the midſt of whom he ordered the tents of Salabadjing to be pitched. Having thus ſecured poſſeſſion of this important pledge, he gave out his intentions, which he had hitherto concealed, of not advancing any farther towards Golcondah, before he was joined by the troops he had left to garriſon the fortreſs of Doltabad; they were 150 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, to whom Mr. Buſſy, on his return from the purſuit of Nizamally, had ſent orders to come away, leaving the fortreſs to an officer nominated by Salabadjing, and to join him where he now was, on the Gunga; his dread of ſome evil chance befalling them, if left far behind, was the cauſe of this precaution; they were already on the way, marching expeditiouſly, and a few days after arrived ſafe at the camp; which then moved forward, and the whole paſſed the river juſt before the rains ſet in, which, as uſual, fell and continued with great violence, and rendered the tranſport of the artillery ſo difficult, that the army did not arrive at Hydrabad until the 15th of July; on which day Mr. Buſſy received a letter written by Mr. Lally on the 13th of June, ordering him to repair to Pondicherry without delay, with all the troops which could be ſpared from the defence of Maſulipatam and the northern provinces, and to take up Mr. Moracin in the way, who had received the ſame orders. In this letter no reſpect was preſerved to the convenience or inclination

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1758. September. July. nation of Salabadjing, whoſe connexions in the preſent conju ſture Mr. Lally conſidered as a chimera of no effect, and who wa thus deprived, even without apology, of the only ſupport in his g ern- ment, on which he had been accuſtomed to rely with confi nce. He took leave of Mr. Buſſy with the utmoſt deſpondency, illed him the guardian angel of his life and fortune, and forebod the unhappy fate to which he ſhould be expoſed by his departure. Mr. Buſſy aſſured him, that he ſhould ſoon return; and ſuch w his wiſh and expectation; for although he knew the prejudices hich Mr. Lally entertained againſt himſelf, his conduct, and the hole connexion of the French nation with the Subah of the Deca ; he imagined, that his repreſentations in perſonal conference woul con- vince Mr. Lally, that this alliance, and the aſſiſtances which ight be derived from it, would be the ſureſt means of acquiring and ain- taining the ſuperiority of the French nation over the Engliſh the coaſt of Coromandel. The whole French army, for none we left with Salabadjing, marched from Aurungabad on the 18th of Jul the *Auguſt.* third day after they arrived there. On the third of Auguſt hey reached Reyoor on the left bank of the Kriſtna, about 20 mile rom Maſulipatam, where Mr. Moracin joined them. Here Mr. uſſy delivered over the command of the army and the government f all the ceded provinces to Mr. Conflans, taking with him 250 the beſt of the Europeans, of which 100 were cavalry, and 500 S oys. They proceeded through Ongole to Nelore, where they arriv on *September.* the 4th of September, and were received by Nazeabullah as f nds and allies. We ſhall now proceed to the affairs of Bengal.

War of BENGAL. *May.* COLONEL CLIVE on the day he arrived at Muxadavad rom Patna, which was the 15th of May, received advices from the oaſt of Coromandel of the arrival of the French ſquadron, and the engagement between them and the Engliſh on the 29th of pril. The confuſion with which the city of Muxadavad was at this ime agitated by the conduct of Meerum, required that the ſuper rity which the French were acquiring on ſhore ſhould not be pub kly known, and to counteract ſuch opinion, Clive ſpread the new he

received, as a complete naval victory; two of the French ſhips ſunk in the fight, inſtead of one ſtranded afterwards by a miſchance; the reſt put to flight, with no likelyhood of being able to land the troops which they had brought for Pondicherry. 1758. May.

The Nabob had tranſmitted to his ſon Meerum his own vexation at the attention which Clive had ſhewn to the preſervation of Roydoolub, by taking him with him to Muxadavad, when the campaign broke up at Bar. Meerum had not been able to ſuppreſs ſome expreſſions of indignation, which were reported to Conjebeharry, the brother of Roydoolub, who acted in the city as his deputy in the office of duan; the brother, too ſolicitous for Roydoolub's ſafety, and his own, had tampered with a conſiderable Jemautdar in the Nabob's ſervice, who gave his oath to act, whenever danger ſhould require, in defence of Roydoolub's houſe. Meerum obtained knowledge of this agreement juſt as Clive and Roydoolub were approaching the city, which he immediately quitted with much appearance of fear, and went to Mootagil, one of the palaces in the neighbourhood, where he ſummoned all the troops and artillery of the government, giving out that he intended to march away to his father, who had not yet paſſed the ſtreight of Tacriagully. The more obſcure the cauſe, the greater was the terror raiſed by this abrupt reſolution. The markets were deſerted, the ſhops were ſhut, the bankers, even the Seats, would do no buſineſs, and many principal families prepared to ſend away their effects. The city had been for two days in this trepidation, when Clive arrived, and on enquiry, found that Meerum affected to ſuſpect even him of joining with Roydoolub in evil intentions againſt his life. He immediately wrote to the Nabob, complaining of Meerum in the ſharpeſt terms, and ſaid, that he would no longer remain in Bengal, ſacrificing zeal to diſtruſt; he, however, ſagaciouſly refrained from making any mention in this letter of the late news from Coromandel, foreſeeing, that it would make a ſtronger impreſſion on the Nabob's mind, when received, magnified as it would come with advantageous circumſtances by the report of others. The Nabob anſwered with much contrition; but before his letter arrived, Meerum had been convinced by Mr. Scraſton,

1758. May. who was intimate with him, of the meanneſs of his ſuſpicions, and of the raſhneſs of his conduct, and had aſked pardon of Clive in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms. Nevertheleſs, the news of his agitations had induced the Nabob to deſiſt from his huntings, and his intention of paſſing the remainder of the Mahomedan lent at a famous durgar, or tomb near Rajahmahal. He arrived in the city on the 30th of May; but Clive, little ſolicitous of an interview with him, had gone away on the 24th to Calcutta. Two thouſand of the Engliſh Sepoys were ſent thither, and the reſt, with all the Europeans, remained at Coſſimbuzar.

On the 20th of June arrived the Hardwicke, one of the company's ſhips from England, with the arrangements that had been made in conſequence of the news of the loſs of Calcutta. The firſt advices of this event were received in London in the month of Auguſt of the preceding year, when the company appointed a temporary committee of five perſons (in which Clive was to preſide) to manage their affairs in Bengal; but in November they reſolved to diſmiſs Mr. Drake from the government, and nominated a council of ten, in which the four ſenior members were to preſide alternately, each for three months: in this ſucceſſion of the four Mr. Watts ſtood the firſt; the others were Mr. Manningham, Mr. Beecher, and Mr. Holwell, who was not yet returned from England. The firſt reſolution of Auguſt had been ſent in another ſhip, which although diſpatched before was not yet arrived; ſo that the firſt intelligence of it came in the Hardwicke, with that of November. The novelty of this reſolution ſubjected it to the imputation of abſurdity: it was ſaid that the powers of the country, accuſtomed to treat with one chief, would regard the alternate preſidents of Calcutta with mockery inſtead of reſpect; but another cauſe operated on opinions more ſtrongly. Colonel Clive had felt and expreſſed reſentment at the neglect of himſelf in the company's orders, for no ſtation was marked for him in the new eſtabliſhment: much money remained due on the claims of the treaties; the Nabob might prove refractory if Clive ſhould depart; and all concurred in thinking he would beſt defend what he had won, in caſe the French ſhould make any attempt in the province.

The three leading members of the council were more impreſſed than any with theſe apprehenſions, and propoſed to the reſt that Clive ſhould be requeſted to accept of the government under the uſual modes; the vote was unanimous, and the tender was made and accepted on the 26th of June. 1758. June.

Intelligence of the fall of Fort St. David had arrived on the 20th, and left no doubt of Mr. Lally's intention of beſieging Madraſs as ſoon as the Engliſh ſquadron ſhould be obliged by the monſoon to quit the coaſt in October, unleſs he ſhould prefer to detach a part of his force to Bengal.

On the 4th of July, letters were received from Anunderauze-Gauzepetty, who had ſucceeded the Rajah Vizeramrauze, in his power and territory in the provinces of Rajahmundrum and Chicacole. Anunderauze, diſſatisfied with the arrangements made by Mr. Buſſy on the death of his predeceſſor, had waited an opportunity to take his revenge; which occurred ſoon after Mr. Buſſy's departure, by the embarraſſments in which he was involved at Aurengabad by the animoſity of Nizamally, and the orders of Mr. Lally for his return into the Carnatic. Anunderauze, on this intelligence, marched from his reſidence of Vizianagarum, and retook Vizagapatam from the French garriſon, of which he ſent advices, offering to ſurrender the place, to the Preſidency of Madraſs; and requeſting them to ſend a large detachment, which he intended to join with his own forces, and take the four provinces, which the French had obtained from the Subah of the Decan; but finding that no troops could be ſpared from the Carnatic, he now made the ſame propoſals to the preſidency of Bengal, where the project ſeemed deluſive or chimerical to all but Clive. However, nothing could be determined before the month of September, when ſhips might quit the river, and the intentions of Mr. Lally would probably be aſcertained.

The real ſtate of the Engliſh affairs in the Carnatic could be no longer concealed in Bengal, and required more complacency than the government of Calcutta had hitherto ſhewn to the inclinations of Meer Jaffier, who regarded the encreaſe of their diſtreſſes with ſecret joy as the redemption of his own liberty. He would immediately have gratified his favourite vengeance againſt Roydoolub, if

1758. July. the diſcontent of his troops for want of pay had not rendered it dangerous to give them ſuch a pretence of tumult, before they were ſatisfied. In other points of the government he was obſerved to aſſume a ſterner air of authority, and told one of his favorites, who betrayed the converſation, that if a French force ſhould come into the province he would aſſiſt them, unleſs the Engliſh releaſed him from all their claims of money, territory, and exemptions.

Clive had expected this change in the Nabob's conduct, becauſe he knew it to be none in his mind; and, in order to prevent him, at leaſt for a while, from committing any exceſſes in his capital, as well as to exhibit the appearance of union and cordiality to the public, the preſidency invited him, as on a viſit of pleaſure, and as a compliment to Clive on his acceptance of the government, to paſs ſome days at Calcutta. Mr. Watts was deputed to give the invitation. The Nabob ſaw the drift, and heſitated, but at length conſented as ſoon as his boats ſhould come from Dacca. They are a magnificent fleet kept at a great expence for pomp and amuſement, and the Nabob, with his family and women, every year paſs a month in them at this ſeaſon, when the Coſſimbuzar river is higheſt. They come from Dacca, decked and adorned, and return thither as ſoon as the feſtival is over, to remain uſeleſs until wanted for the ſame occaſion in the next year.

Scrafton, after Clive left Muxadavad, had attended to the preſervation of Roydoolub in his office; but the Engliſh themſelves had unwittingly planted an engine, which was unſuſpectedly undermining all his protections. Nuncomar had accompanied the army to Patna, and as a Gentoo very converſant in the revenues, was employed with confidence by Roydoolub. When the payment of the tuncaws given by the Nabob at Rajamahal began to fail, he expounded to Colonel Clive the fallacy of the excuſes, and profered, if he were impowered to act as the agent of the Engliſh, ſupported by the authority of the Nabob's government, to find ſummary means of recovering the amount, or of ſubſtituting equivalent payments. Colonel Clive not foreſeeing the end, employed him as he had propoſed, and without the repugnance of Roydoolub. Nuncomar, as his

his firſt meaſure, threatened the Rajah of Nuddeah with impriſonment, who, frightened, fled to Calcutta, preferring to truſt himſelf to the clemency of the Engliſh. This exerciſe of authority, neither diſavowed nor diſapproved, immediately placed Nuncomar in that conſpicuous ſtation of terror, which is the object of ambition in India, as the certain means of wealth: but knowing that the practices by which he was to make his fortune could not eſcape the ſagacity and experience of Roydoolub, he now became as apprehenſive of his controul, as he had hitherto been ſolicitous of his favour, and caſt about to ſecond the Nabob's intention of removing him from the duanny. Scrafton ſuſpected the views of Nuncomar, which deterred him from conferring either with the Nabob or his ſon, but he held nightly meetings with the emiſſary in whom they moſt confided, and repreſented that the Engliſh would no longer interfere in any arrangements, which the Nabob might think proper to make in his government, provided they received the balances of the treaty monies, which he undertook to ſee regularly paid. His arguments were at this juncture the more welcome, becauſe Roydoolub continued to evade the furniſhing of money for the demands of the army, whoſe impatience had obliged the Nabob to diſburſe a part of his gold, which was, as uſual, treaſured up againſt extremity. The ſcheme would not have been void of riſque, if Nuncomar and others had not eſtranged the powerful houſe of the Seats from the intereſts of Roydoolub, by repreſentations, that they would be called on for money to ſupply the Nabob's exigencies, if Roydoolub continued to delay the ſupplies from the revenues. On the 24th Rajahbullub, formerly mentioned in the reign of Allaverdy, as father of Kiſſendaſs, and duan to Nowagis Mahomed, who had held in appanage the government of the province of Dacca, was appointed duan to Meerum, and on the 26th Roydoolub was ordered to deliver over to Rajahbullub the accounts and ſuperintendance of that province, Roydoolub ſaw the whole extent of his danger unexpectedly and at once, and immediately requeſted leave to retire with his family and effects to Calcutta. The Nabob conſented, but Meerum refuſed, until he had furniſhed a ſum ſufficient to ſatisfy the troops. Matters were in this

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1758. Auguſt. ſtate, when Mr. Watts arrived on the 4th of Auguſt, with the invitation of the council to the Nabob, who, deſirous of appearing unconcerned in what was to follow, conſented to proceed with him to Calcutta. The boats, which were now arrived from Dacca, were ordered to proceed and wait at Augadeep, where the Nabob intended to join them, after he had taken the diverſion of hunting in the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, which in the middle is covered with jungles, the repair of many deer and tigers; but this amuſement was only a pretext to remain within call of the city, which he left on the 6th accompanied by Mr. Watts. Two days after his departure his ſon Meerum ordered a body of troops, who were clamouring for their pay, to go and demand it of Roydoolub. They ſurrounded and beſet the encloſures of his houſe, which were ſpacious; and Roydoolub had gathered a conſiderable number of his own troops, amongſt whom were ſome European deſerters. Mr. Scrafton arrived at Roydoolub's houſe before any blood was ſhed, and prevailed on both ſides to remain quiet, until he could inform Mr. Watts, who was then halting with the Nabob at Moncarrah, 14 miles to the ſouth of the city. The Nabob pretended to know nothing of what was paſſing, and authoriſed Mr. Watts to bring away Roydoolub. He arrived in the city juſt in time to ſave his life; for Meerum, apprehenſive of prevention, had ordered the troops to ſeize his perſon at any riſque; and Roydoolub had prepared a doſe of poiſon to prevent the indignity. Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton immediately put him, with a few attendants, into his boats, and accompanied him with a party of Sepoys in others: they arrived at Calcutta before the Nabob, who waited at Hughley until Clive and moſt of the council paid their reſpects to him there. He then proceeded with them to Calcutta, where he was entertained for ſeveral days with pomp and feſtivity. He ſet out on his return to Muxadavad on the 21ſt of
September. Auguſt, and arrived there on the firſt of September. During his abſence, Meerum had continued guards over the houſe of Roydoolub and of his three brothers, all of whom had employments in the revenue. Mr. Haſtings, who had ſucceeded Mr. Scrafton as the agent of the preſidency at the city, was afraid of giving offence to the Nabob,

Nabob, if he ſhould employ the Engliſh troops at Coſſimbuzar to protect them, and was equally unwilling to adviſe Roydoolub's family to remove without this aid, leſt the women ſhould be ſtopped, and the inſult produce a fray between their retinues, and the troops by which they were beſet; but the repeated requeſts of Clive at length prevailed on the Nabob to permit their departure, and they ſet out for Calcutta on the 12th, eſcorted by a guard of Engliſh ſoldiers. The next night but one the city was alarmed by a new tumult. 1758. September.

On the 4th of September in this year, began the Moharram, or firſt month of the Mahomedan year, of which the firſt ten days are eſpecially conſecrated to devotion. The palaces of the Nabob and his ſon Meerum ſtood on the weſtern bank of the Coſſimbuzar river, but at ſome diſtance from each other. On the night of the 13th of September, which was the 9th of the Moharram, the Nabob went to his ſon's in a boat, and obſerved the ſhore crouded with a much greater number of people than uſual. Returning in his palankin, he ſtopped to pay his devotions at the principal moſque of the city, and had previouſly ordered his general, Coja Hadde, to ſtation a ſufficient number of troops to keep off the populace; but, on entering the encloſure of the moſque, found it filled and ſurrounded by ſepoys, amongſt whom were ſeveral jemautdars belonging to Coja Haddee, who, inſtead of the uſual reſpect, kept their ſeats within, whilſt their ſoldiery thronged tumultuouſly about the Nabob, and prevented his paſſage. He, nevertheleſs, ſuſpecting no danger, was endeavouring to get through them, until one of the ſpies, who, as uſual, attended his perſon, returned out of the croud, and told him, that Coja Haddee had armed all his own troops with ſome bad intention; on which the Nabob waited until all his own retinue had gathered about him, and in the mean time many more were coming from the palaces. The Jemautdars of Coja Haddee then roſe and went away haſtily, and their ſoldiers likewiſe diſperſed.

The next morning a Jemautdar of another diviſion of the army informed the Nabob that Coja Haddee had armed his ſoldiery, and aſſembled them at the pavilion, with the intention of killing him in the tumult of a fray, which, in the night, might appear accidental,

between

1758. September. between them and the Nabob's guard: preſently after, another officer, who had ſerved in the diviſion of troops commanded by Roydoolub, came in, and ſaid that Roydoolub had ſent a bill of exchange from Calcutta for two lacks of rupees, which was to be paid by Meer Allee, one of his dependants, to Coja Haddee, who was to diſtribute this money amongſt the troops, to induce them to riſe under pretence of demanding their arrears, when they were to ſurround and cut off the Nabob. The Nabob, without farther examination, diſmiſſed Coja Haddee from his ſervice, with orders to leave the city, and appointed Mahmdee Cawn, a Pitan, to the poſt of Buxey, or captain general of his forces.

In this manner was the ſtory related on the ſecond day after the tumult at the pavilion by the Nabob himſelf to Mr. Haſtings; and the very day after it happened, Rajah Binderbund, one of Roydoolub's brothers, in a private conference on this ſubject, told Mr. Haſtings, that the troops then aſſembled were at his devotion. This ſuggeſtion induced Mr. Haſtings to believe the accuſation againſt Roydoolub; but Colonel Clive ſuſpected, and ordered ſtricter enquiry. In the mean time, the Nabob had informed Mr. Haſtings, that he had got poſſeſſion of a letter written by Roydoolub to Coja Haddee, in which Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton were mentioned as having conſented to their project of deſtroying him; but he refuſed to give a copy of the letter until he ſaw Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton. Mr. Haſtings repreſented the implication and indignity of their coming to be confronted with ſuch an accuſation; on which the Nabob requeſted him to write, and ſent one of his own officers to Calcutta, to requeſt that they might be ſent, in order to ſettle a new ſcheme he had projected for diſcharging the monies for which he had given tuncaws on the provinces. Before this he had paid the arrears due to the troops under the immediate command of Coja Haddee, which were 1200 horſe, and had obliged them to quit the province in different bands by different routs; but Coja Haddee himſelf was ſuffered to remain in the city until the 11th of October, when he was permitted to depart, accompanied by 30 horſemen, and with aſſurances that he ſhould receive no injury, provided he raiſed no diſturbance.

turbance. A few days after, the Nabob was informed that Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton were not likely to come to him, on which he delivered a copy of the letter imputed to Roydoolub; and, although he had before ſaid it had been intercepted, he now confeſſed that his ſon Meerum had obtained it from Coja Haddee, on a promiſe of reconciliation. The letter "exhorts Coja Haddee to carry the affair "in which he is engaged into immediate execution. Roydoolub will "be with him in time; has written to Meer Alli to ſupply the ex-"pences; has half engaged Seid Coſſim Ally Khan, and leaves it to "the diſcretion of Coja Haddee to bring him over entirely; will "aſſuredly comply with what was agreed upon between himſelf and "Coja Haddee; has gained the concurrence of Colonel Clive by the "means of Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton, and has taken the diſ-"charge of the tuncaws, and the arrears of the Nabob's army upon "himſelf." The caution of Roydoolub during the confederacy againſt Surajah Dowlah, in which he never ventured to write, or even to ſend a meſſage, rendered it ſcarcely probable that he ſhould thus throw himſelf into the power of Coja Haddee, on pretences he knew to be fictitious; and it was ſtill more abſurd to ſuppoſe, that, living in Calcutta without means of eſcape, he ſhould dare ſo heinous a falſity againſt Clive, whoſe ſeverity he had learned to dread as much as he reſpected his protection. Clive regarded the letter as a forgery of the Nabob's and his ſon in order to exaſperate him againſt Roydoolub, whom, if he ſhould not puniſh more ſeverely, they expected at leaſt he would turn out of Calcutta, when they might plunder him, without controul, of his wealth, as the ranſom of his life. But on the other hand it appeared ſtrange that they ſhould produce a letter, which, if not true, might be eaſily diſproved by a ſtrict examination of Coja Haddee on the whole ſeries of his connexion with Roydoolub. Their permiſſion of Coja Haddee's departure was already a ſtrong indication of their apprehenſion of this teſt, and a few days after came news, that he and ſeveral of his followers had been killed in a fray with the troops ſtationed at Rajahmahal, under the command of Daud Khan, who was the Nabob's brother. His head was brought

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1758. September. to Muxadavad and viewed with much complacence by the Nabob and his ſon. Still it remained to examine Seid Coſſim Ally Khan, and Meer Alli; but at this time the forces of the Engliſh preſidency were ſo much diminiſhed by an armament ſent out of the river to the province of Chicacole, that it became neceſſary not to provoke the Nabob, by probing the ignominy of his conduct; of which Clive had acquired a ſufficient proof, by a letter written in his own hand to Nuncomar at Hughley, offering him a title and jaghire, if he would bring the affair of Roydoolub's letter to a good end: it was therefore deemed imprudent to inflict the reproach he deſerved; but Clive told him, that if he gave ear to ſuch tales, there would be an end to all confidence between him and the Engliſh nation.

Farther letters had been received in Auguſt, from the Rajah Anunderauze; and other advices, which were not very correct, gave ſome account of the diſcords between Mr. Buſſy and Nizamally at Aurengabad. Anunderauze repeated more earneſtly, and with greater confidence, his requeſt of a body of troops to drive the French out of the ceded provinces, and now propoſed, as equally feaſible, the reduction of Maſulipatam. Letters of the ſame purport came at the ſame time from Mr. Briſtol, who had been the agent at Cutteck, and had proceeded from thence to Ingeram; had viſited Anunderauze on the way, and was received by him with much good-will. A few days after arrived advices from the preſidency at Madraſs of the ſecond engagement between the ſquadrons on the 3d of Auguſt, with their opinion, that the French ſhips were ſo much diſabled that they muſt return to their iſlands to refit before they ventured another; that the French army was before Tanjore, and that Mr. Buſſy was on his march from Hyderabad to Maſulipatam, from whence he was to join Mr. Lally with the greateſt part of the force under his command: that this meaſure indicated Mr. Lally's intention of exerting his whole ſtrength in the Carnatic, and left no apprehenſions of his making any attempt againſt Bengal; for which reaſon they expected the preſidency in this province would immediately ſend a conſiderable part of their force to

enable Madraſs to ſtand the brunt of the arduous conflict which muſt ſoon enſue. 1758. September.

No one doubted that Madraſs would be beſieged as ſoon as the Monſoon had ſent the ſquadrons off the coaſt, if reinforcements ſhould not arrive before; but Clive did not entertain the ſurmiſe that it could be taken whilſt it had proviſions; and as troops were known to be in the way from England, if the ſhips in which they were embarked ſhould loſe their paſſage in this year, they would probably arrive in the firſt months of the next. Nevertheleſs it was neceſſary, if poſſible, to alleviate the inequality between the Engliſh and French force in Coromandel.

But the preference which each of the Company's preſidencies was naturally inclined to give to its own ſafety, as the only ground on which the property and fortunes of the whole community were eſtabliſhed, ſuggeſted apprehenſions, that Madraſs, in the ſame manner as it had been treated by the preſidency of Calcutta, would, whatſoever might be the neceſſity of Bengal, detain, on their own ſervice, whatſoever troops might be ſent to their aſſiſtance; and, although little was to be immediately apprehended in Bengal from the French, yet the intire eſtrangement of the Nabob, and the hazard of all that remained due from him, were to be expected, if he ſaw the Engliſh force too conſiderably diminiſhed, without the immediate power of recall, to oppoſe either his own attempts againſt them; or to afford the aſſiſtance he might want, whether in the maintenance of his authority againſt his own ſubjects, or the defence of his territory againſt foreign enemies.

In conſequence of theſe concluſions it was determined not to ſend a body of troops to Madraſs, but to employ all that could with prudence be ſpared, in concert with Anunderauze, againſt the French in the ceded provinces; which would either occaſion a diverſion of their troops in the Carnatic, or, if they neglected this aſſiſtance, would deprive them at once of all they had acquired by their long connexion with the Subah of the decan: and, leſt any danger during the expedition ſhould threaten Bengal, the troops were only to obey the immediate orders of Calcutta.

1758. September.

The conduct of the expedition was committed to Lieutenant Colonel Forde, who, on the invitation of the presidency to take the command of the army in case of the departure of Colonel Clive, had quitted the King's service in Adlercron's regiment, and arrived from the coast in the month of April. Mr. George Grey was sent to continue the course of intelligence at Cutteck, and Mr. John Johnstone was dispatched in the Mermaid sloop to make the necessary preparations in concert with Anunderauze at Vizagapatam. The force allotted for the expedition was 500 Europeans, including the artillery-men, 2000 Sepoys, and 100 Lascars: the artillery were six field-pieces, the best brass six-pounders, six 24 pounders for battery, a howitz, and an eight-inch mortar. 80000 rupees, and 400 gold mohurs, equivalent to 60,000 rupees, were the military chest for immediate expences. The embarkation was made on three of the Company's ships arrived lately from Europe, on the Thames, a private ship of 700 tons, with two of the pilot sloops of the river. The Thames likewise carried a great quantity of provisions intended for Madrass, whither she was to proceed as soon as the present service would permit. By altercations in the council, for the measure was too vigorous to be acceptable to all of them, and by delays in the equipment, the vessels were detained in the river until the end of September. Their departure left the English force in the province barely equal to what they carrried away.

The progress of this expedition after the departure of the armament, bears more relation to the affairs of Coromandel than of Bengal. The events which immediately ensued in the provinces of Behar and Bengal, originated from the distractions which had for many years prevailed at Delhi, the capital of the empire, and from the views and operations of a variety of great interests and powers acting in the center of Indostan. The developement of these causes, and their effects, require an uninterrupted investigation of no little complication and extent. But the important and nearer contest already opened between the English and French nations in the Carnatic, continues from this time forth with such incessant energy,

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that our narrative, once engaged, cannot quit their operations without impairing the perſpicuity neceſſary to explain the ſtrict ſucceſſion of influences, by which preceding events were continually producing thoſe which immediately followed. We have therefore determined to continue this portion of our ſtory without interruption, until the events themſelves begin to take reſpite; when we ſhall return to the affairs of Bengal. 1758. October.

END *of the* NINTH BOOK.